

Delalorm, Cephas (2016) Documentation and description of Sɛkpɛlé: a Ghana-Togo mountain language of Ghana . PhD Thesis. SOAS, University of London

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DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
SEKPELÉ: A GHANA-TOGO MOUNTAIN
LANGUAGE OF GHANA

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Field Linguistics

2016

Department of Linguistics
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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a documentation and description of Sekpelé, a Kwa language spoken along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border by the people of the Likpe traditional area. It belongs to the linguistically diverse group of Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages (GTM), spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana. The language is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe: Bakwa, Nkwanta, Mate, Bala, Todome, Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi.

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters and a set of appendixes. The first chapter presents a general introduction. This includes a background overview of the Bakpelé (speakers of Sekpelé) which includes demographic and ethnographic information, as well as material on language classification, dialects and multilingualism, and research methodology. The second chapter is a literature review. Topics covered include language documentation, description, and language classification, and an overview of previous research on the language. The third chapter discusses the phonology of Sekpelé. The fourth chapter focuses on the noun morphology of Sekpelé and includes topics such as the noun class system, agreement, and some noun derivations. The fifth chapter discusses the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpele. The sixth chapter focuses on pronouns while the seventh chapter describes the verb morphology. The eighth chapter discusses semantic classes of verbs and their valency. The ninth chapter discusses clause structure and clause types in Sekpele. The tenth chapter discusses several construction types that involve combinations of verbs and/or clauses. This chapter is organised as following: (1) multi-verb clauses: serial verbs; overlapping

clauses; consecutive constructions, (2) complement clauses, (3) adverbial clauses, (4) relative clauses, and (5) coordination. The eleventh chapter consists of the conclusion followed by a full bibliography of materials referenced in this thesis and a set of appendixes containing selected texts collected and annotated in the course of the research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the contribution of some individuals and institutions. First, I wish to give all praise and thanks to Almighty God, for the life that has sustained me through this period.

Thanks also go to the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) for the realisation of my dreams through their financial support. I am also grateful to the Faculty of Languages and Cultures and the Department of Linguistics of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS) for the facility and the spectacular services rendered to me from the beginning of my studies.

I also acknowledge the contributions of the members of my supervisory committee; Prof. Peter K. Austin, Dr. Lutz Marten and Dr. Monik Charette for their fruitful criticism and recommendations. Thanks go to the staff and my colleagues at the Linguistics Department. I also acknowledge the contributions of Michael Franjeh and Charlotte Hemmings for their time proof-reading this work.

Thanks go to Prof. Felix Ameka whose research on Sɛkpɛlé motivated me to take on the mantle and to follow suit. I also wish to thank the Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana and the Department of Language and Communication Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) for the foundation they gave me that has brought me this far.

Finally, I am very grateful to the people of Likpe who have accepted me as one of their own and shown interest in my project. Special thanks go to my consultants Cyprian Somevi, Gloria Akposu, Daniel Bonsi, Robert Ouedraogo and Emila Bonsi.

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LIST OF GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES

Morpheme	Gloss	Morpheme type	Grammatical description
a-	NCL8 NCL6 CL1 CL3 CL6 CL8	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix
á-	HAB	prefix	Verb prefix (habitual)
á-	PROSP	prefix	Verb prefix (prospective)
á=	2SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Second singular past personal pronoun
à-	PFV	prefix	Verb prefix (perfective)
à-	SCR	prefix	Verb prefix (subject cross reference)
à=	2SG.NOM	proclitic	Second singular non-past personal pronoun
-à	ADJV	suffix	Derives adjectives from verbs
ba-	NCL2 CL2		Noun class and agreement prefix
bá=	3PL.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third plural past personal pronoun
bà=	3PL.NOM	proclitic	Third plural non-past personal pronoun
be-	NCL12 CL12	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix
bé=	2PL.NOM.PST	proclitic	Second plural past personal pronoun
bè=	2PL.NOM	proclitic	Second plural non-past personal pronoun
-bí	DIM	suffix	Diminutive
bo-	NMLZ	prefix	Derives nouns from verbs
bó-	FUT	prefix	Verb prefix (future)
bó=	1PL.NOM.PST 1PL.POSS	proclitic	First plural past personal pronoun First plural possessive pronoun
bò-	ANT	prefix	Verb prefix (anterior)
bò=	3PL.NOM 1PL.NOM CL10.NOM	proclitic	Third plural non-past personal pronoun First plural non-past personal pronoun Class 10 personal pronoun
=V	UFP	enclitic	Utterance final particle and topic marker

	TOP		which involve the lengthening of the final vowel of the final word sentence or phrase respectively.
é=	3SG.NOM.PST CL6.NOM CL8.NOM	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun Class 6 and 8 personal pronoun
è=	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
-ə	NON-STV	suffix	Derives non-stative verbs from stative verbs
ẽ	CL1.DEF CL3.DEF CL6.DEF CL8.DEF	clitic	Class 1, 3, 6, and 8 determiner clitic.
ẽ̃	CL1.REL.PRO CL3.REL.PRO CL6.REL.PRO CL8.REL.PRO	clitic	Class 1, 3, 6, and 8 relative pronoun
f=	2SG.POSS	proclitic	Second singular possessive pronoun
fá=	2SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Second singular past personal pronoun
fã=	2SG.NOM	proclitic	Second singular past personal pronoun
-fə	ORD	suffix	Derives ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals.
fò=	2SG.NOM	proclitic	Second singular past personal pronoun
-fɔ̃	PL:PNLZ	suffix	Plural personalizer
-hene	CHIEF	suffix	Attached to the name to town to refer to the chief of the town.
ka-	NCL4 NCL9 CL4 CL9	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix
ka=	CL4.NOM CL9.NOM	proclitic	Class 4 and 9 personal pronoun
kà-	INF PROG	prefix	Verb prefix (infinitive and progressive)
ko-	NCL7 CL7	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix

ko-	NEG	prefix	Attached to nouns and determiners to form negative words
ko =	CL7.NOM	proclitic	class 7 personal pronoun
-kó	ASSOC	suffix	Associative morpheme
-kó	PLACE PURP	suffix	Place or purposive morpheme
là =	REL	proclitic	Relativizer (habitual and prospective)
le-	NCL5 CL5	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix
lè =	CL5.NOM REL	proclitic	Class 5 personal pronoun Relativizer (past or perfective)
-lé	ORD	suffix	Derives ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals.
lò =	REL	proclitic	Relativizer (future)
lò-	CL5 CARD	prefix	Class 5 cardinal attached to the numeral root 'one'.
má =	1 SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	First singular past personal pronoun
mà =	1 SG.NOM	proclitic	First singular non-past personal pronoun
-mê	PL	suffix	Plural morpheme attached to some kinship terms.
mí =	1 SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	First singular past personal pronoun
mì	1 SG.NOM	proclitic	First singular non-past personal pronoun
mó =	1 SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	First singular past personal pronoun
mò =	1 SG.NOM	proclitic	First singular non-past personal pronoun
mó =	1 SG.POSS		First singular possessive pronoun
n-	NCL10 NEG EMPH	prefix	Noun class 10 negative morpheme Emphatic morpheme
ń =	1 SG.NOM.PST	prefix	First singular past personal pronoun
ñ =	REL 1 SG.NOM	proclitic	Relativizer (attached to stative verbs) First singular non-past personal pronoun
nó-	CL5	prefix	Class 5 determiner prefix
nya-	CL	prefix	default agreement class marker
o-	NCL1 NCL3 CL1 CL3	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix

ó-	FUT	prefix	Future morpheme
ò-	ANT	prefix	Anterior morpheme
ó =	3SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun
ò =	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
se-	NCL11 CL11	prefix	Noun class and agreement prefix
sé =	CL11.NOM.PST	proclitic	Class 11 past personal pronoun
sè =	CL11.NOM	proclitic	Class 11 non-past personal pronoun
-sè	CAUS	suffix	Causative morpheme
w =	3SG.POSS	proclitic	Third singular possessive pronoun
wá =	3SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun
wà =	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
wó =	3SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun
wò =	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
yá =	3SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun
yà =	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
yó =	3SG.NOM.PST	proclitic	Third singular past personal pronoun
yò =	3SG.NOM	proclitic	Third singular non-past personal pronoun
yǎ	CL6.DEF	clitic	Class 6 determiner clitic.
yǎ	CL6.REL.PRO	clitic	Class 6 relative pronoun

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative	NEG	Negation
ASSOC	Associative	NMLZ	Nominalizer
ADJ	Adjective	NOM	Nominative
ADJV	Adjectivizer	NUM	Numeral
AGR	Agreement	OPT	Optative
ANIM	Animacy	PERF	Perfect
ANT	Anterior	PFV	Perfective
ATR	Advance Tongue Root	PL	Plural
C	Consonant	PN	Emphatic Pronoun
CAUS	Causative	PNLZ	Personalizer
CL	Agreement Class	POSS	Possessive
COMP	Complementizer	PRES	Present
CONJ	Conjunction	PROG	Progressive
COP	Copula	PROSP	Prospective
DEF	Definite Article	PROX	Proximal Demonstrative
DEM	Demonstrative	PST	Past
DET	Determiner	PREP	Preposition
DIST	Distal Demonstrative	QUANT	Quantifier
EMPH	Emphatic	REDUP	Reduplication
EXT	Extension	REL	Relativizer
FOC	Focus	REL.PRO	Relative Pronoun
FUT	Future	SCR	Subject Cross-Reference
G	Glide	SG	Singular
GTM	Ghana Togo Mountain	SPM	Subject Pronominal Marker
HAB	Habitual	STV	Stative
HORT	Hortative	TAM	Tense, Aspect and Mood
INDEF	Indefinite	TOP	Topic
INF	Infinitive	UFP	Utterance Final Particle
L	Lateral	V	Verb
LIG	Ligature	V	Vowel
LOC	Locative	*	bound root
N	Nasal		
N	Noun		
NCL	Noun Class		

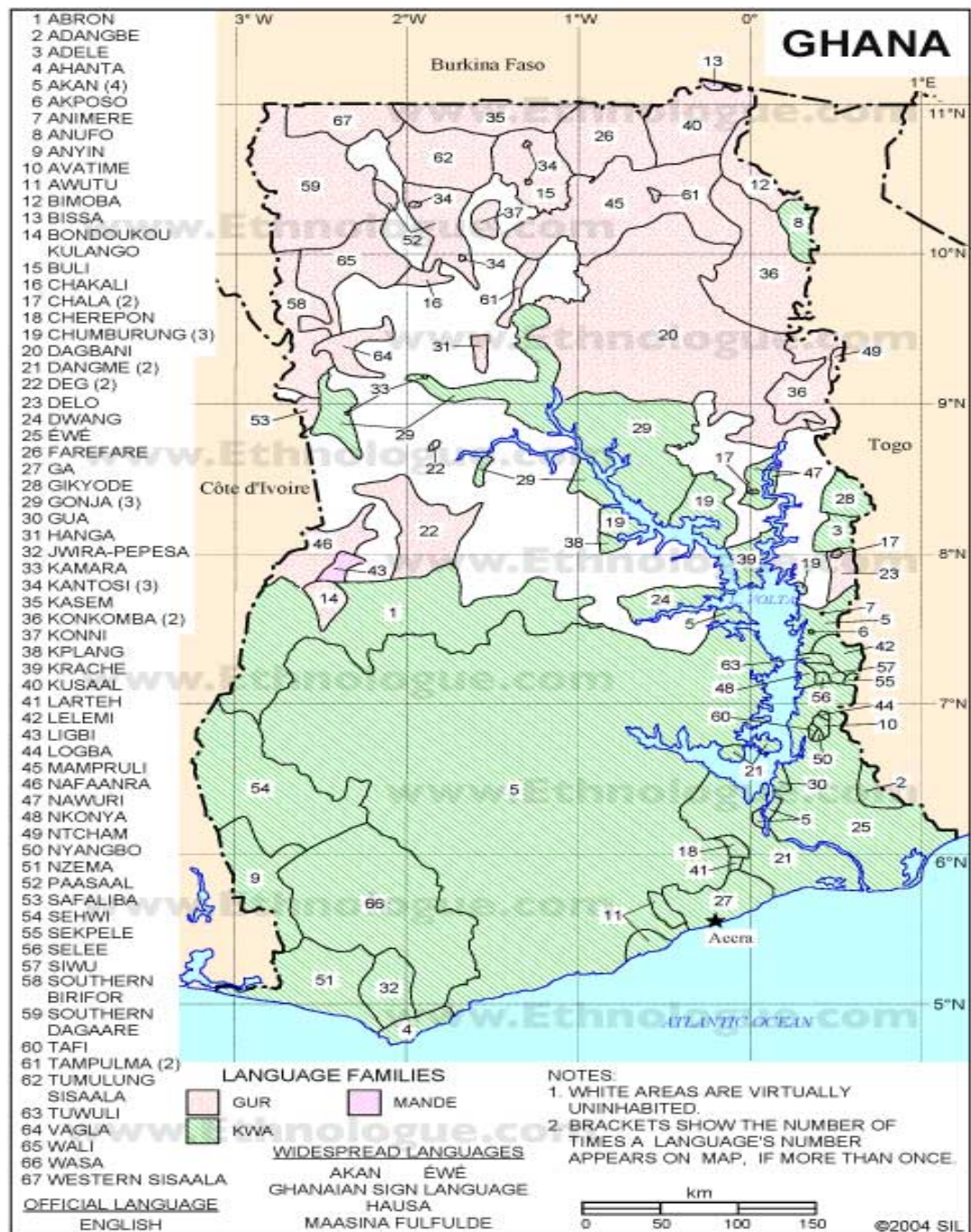


Figure 1: Language map of Ghana (source: www.ethnologue.com)

1 INTRODUCTION

This section provides a general introduction to the Likpe people and their language, Sekpelé. Section 1.1 deals with the ethnographic and demographic information about the Likpe people which includes their geographic location, history, economy, education and their religious affiliation. Section 1.2 looks at the genetic classification of Sekpelé, and gives a brief account of dialects and situations of multilingualism in the area. Section 1.3 provides the methodology I employed in the course of the research.

1.1 The People

1.1.1 Geographical location

Sekpelé (ISO-639 code: lip) is a language spoken by the people of the Likpe communities who live along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border (Latitude: 7° 10' 60 N, Longitude: 0° 36' 0 E) – see Figure 1 location number 55. It is a Kwa language (see §1.2.1) and is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe (the district capital which is an Ewe community). There are two main roads that lead to the various Likpe towns from Hohoe; one leads to Nkwanta, Bakwa, Mate, Bala, Todome, and the other leads to Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi via Lolobi-Kumasi. There is another road that links Mate to Kukurantumi via Avedzime, Agbozume, Koforidua and Abrani. Although some of the communities are difficult to access by road, they are linked to each other by interconnected paths through the forest (see Figure 2).

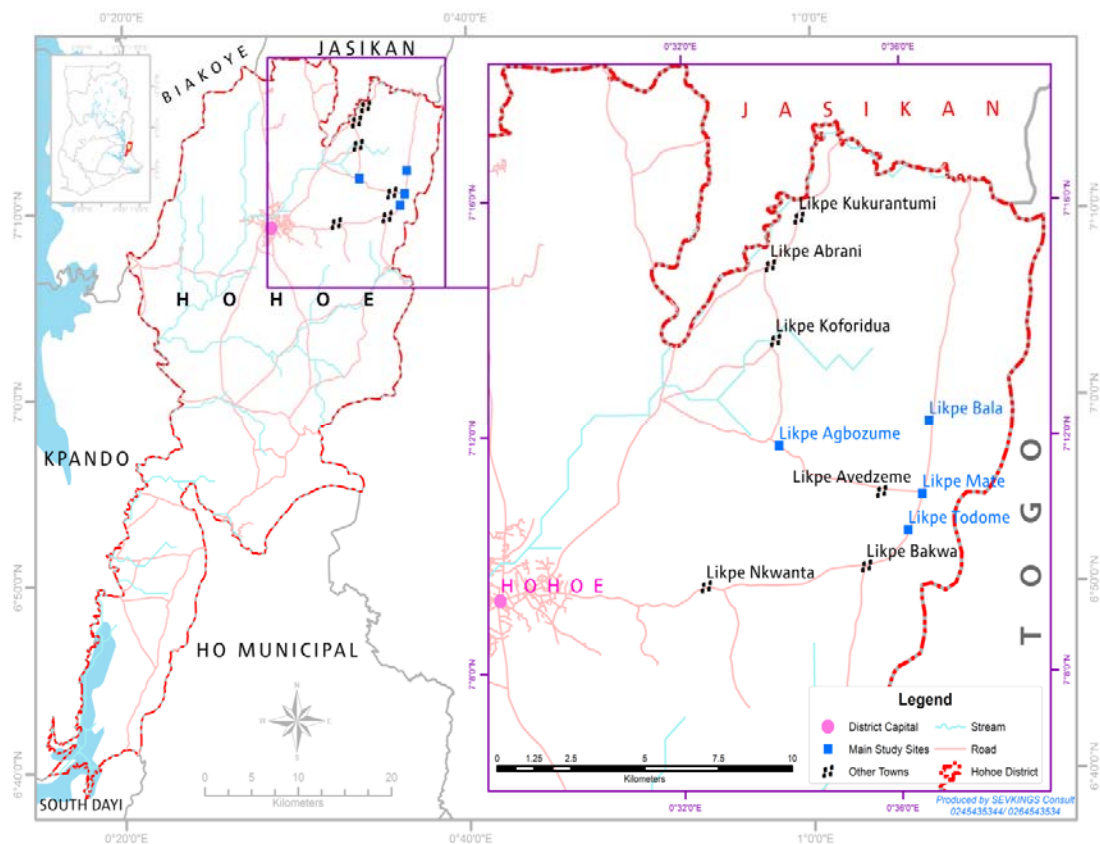


Figure 2: Map of Likpe area

The current population of the Likpe communities is approximately 25,000¹ with the indigenous speakers of Sekpelé in the majority (Ameka, 2002). There are also a few settlers from neighbouring Ghana-Togo Mountain (GTM) communities and other Kwa groups such as Ewe and Akan. There are also settlers from Northern Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Nigeria. Apart from the indigenous Sekpelé speakers in the area, there are over a thousand native speakers living in the diaspora. The Likpe community is surrounded by Lelemi (Buem) to the north, Ahlo to the east, Siwu and Sele to the west which are all GTM languages and Ewe (the lingua franca) to the south.

¹ An effort was made to get some figures from the 2010 census regarding the current population in the area but the information was not readily available.

1.1.2 History

This historic account was put together partly from oral tradition and partly from the work of Mensah-Edzesi (2004). Mensah-Edzesi's work was handed to me by Nana Komla Dihie III, the chief of Likpe Todome. The oral historic account was given to me by Mr George Ottah, the Omankrado Anto of Likpe Bala. His account is documented as in the history of Amankrado in Likpe Bala. There is consistency in this oral account based on my observation and informal interactions with Mr. Cyprian Somevi from Likpe Agbozume, Mr. Samuel Korku Mensah, an elder from Likpe Bala and Nana Komla Dihie III. These historic oral accounts are common knowledge in the area and could be sourced from anyone especially the elderly. It is important to note that most oral accounts do not involve dates although those accounts may be historic facts. Most oral cultures make reference to events, circumstances or an era. For instance, one may make reference to the era of the independence of Ghana (1957), the reign of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (the first President of Ghana) or the era of the famine (1983). It is no wonder the elderly do not know their date of birth.

The Likpe people refer to themselves as the *Bakpele*, the collective for *ɔkpele* 'a Likpe person'. The history of the Bakpele has been linked to the legend that they migrated from Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. Before settling in Atebubu, they migrated from the East African sub-region with some other Guang tribes, constituting a group of fugitives escaping the political upheaval of the era circa A.D 1000 (Mensah-Edzesi, 2004:1). Mensah-Edzesi estimates the migration to be between A.D 1000 and 1300. The exodus saw the Bakpele and the Guangs move from the east

toward the west to the savannah regions of Sudan through the Lake Chad area. Oral tradition affirms that the Bakpele settled in the southern borders of the ancient Ghana Empire until the empire was threatened by the invasion of Abdullah Ibn Yasin and the Almoravids (a militant Moslem or Berber dynasty). They moved into modern Ghana in several waves between A.D 1054 and 1076.

The Bakpele were one of the largest of the Guang ethnic groups which included the Bale (Santrokofi), Nkonya, Buem, Akpafu (lolobi), Krachi, Adele, Nchumuru, larteh and Gonja who lived in the southern part of the Ghana Empire. The Bakpele still recall vividly the past memories of the 'Walata' market where they obtained their salt. They also recall the memory of a fair-skinned tribe, the Berbers, who lived in the north of the empire. The Bakpele refer to them as 'Obebenyɔ/Babebenyɔ' (native(s) of Berber) while the Akans refer to them as 'Pepeni/Pepefoɔ'. The word obebenyɔ also refers to a fierce or hostile person, usually from the north.

From the Ghana Empire, most of the Guang tribes including the Bakpele, Bale, and the Nkonya came through the Volta valley and settled at Salaga. They later left Salaga due to the threat of lions. They crossed the Volta River at a ford near Yeji in the dry season under the leadership of Ata, a lion hunter and a great shaman who was believed to possess mystical powers. They settled between the Kulago, Brong, and the Nefana and established a town they called Ata-be-bu (Ata's cottage). This town, now known as Atebubu, is currently an Akan community. It is believed that the Bakpele and the Bale may have started rice cultivation in Atebubu. The Bakpele and the Bale are closely related because they once lived in Salaga and Atebubu. They also share a common parent language called Sele 'language'. This is based on the evidence that both

languages have lexical cognates (see Appendix 1). Both the Bakpele and the Bale share common political, social, religious and cultural institutions such as their system of marriage and inheritance. Other Guang or GTM group such as Atwode, Adele, Nchumuru and Krachi support the legend about Salaga and Atebubu as the main centres of their settlements. This legend seems to point to the likelihood that the Salaga-Atebubu area was the original centre of Guang dispersion to their current settlements.

The Bakpele left Atebubu during the reign of Atara Ofinam VIII, the last king of the Guang kingdom. They were attacked by the Akan tribes in two fronts. The first command was believed to be led by the Mamponghene attacking from the north and the other by Kwahuhene from the south-east. The Akan forces over-ran the ancient Guang kingdom. Atara Ofinam VIII fled across the Volta and Oti River after a hot chase by the forces of the Kwahuhene. It is firmly believed that the Bakwa (a small Bakpele group) led by Ote Katsyankla and Katabuah, like the Atwode leader Awuku-Gevi, were among the early fugitives who fled through the eastern corridor for safety. The Bakwa settled first at Mount Djebobo on the Togo-Atacora ranges and later moved southward to discover the caves they now refer to as the ancestral cave at Todome.

The larger group of the Bakpele and the Bale crossed the Volta River and moved southward. They had several stopovers around present day Krachi, Nchumuru, Atwode, Adele and Kebu traditional areas. They moved southward along Togoland through Akposo and Ahlor in the Republic of Togo. During their stopovers, sections of the group decided to stay a little longer, either to seek the protection of the deities of the area such as Krachi-Dente and Bruku of Shiare, or to cultivate rice. The group that

remained lost contact with the main group and might have been absorbed by the Akan groups who came to settle in the area later.

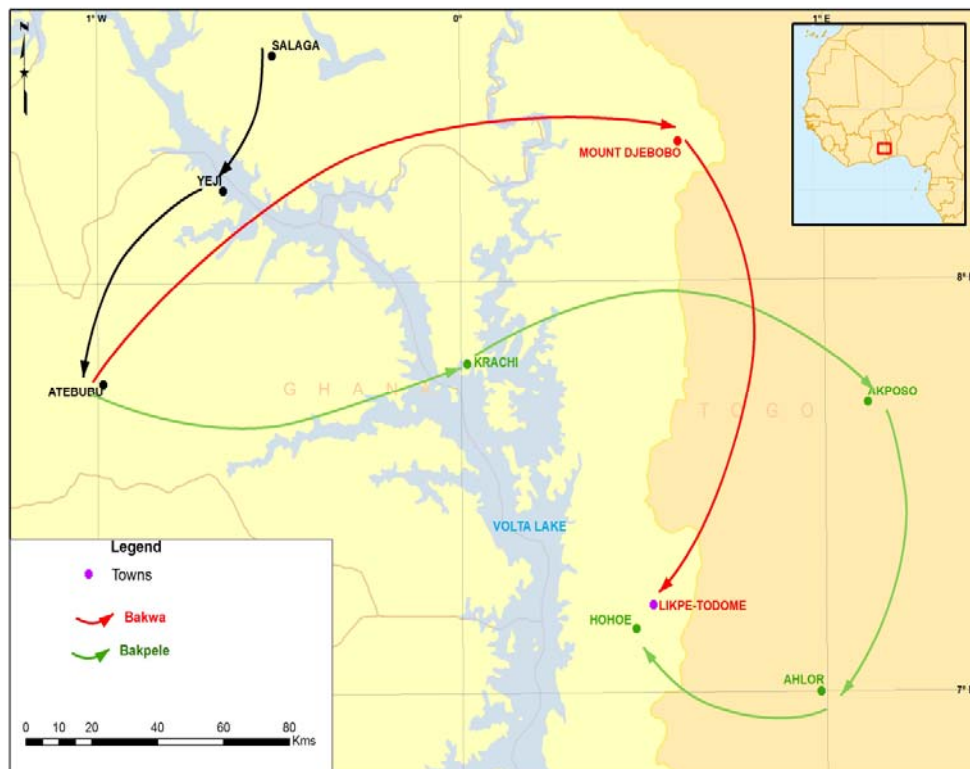


Figure 3: Migrational map of the Bakpele and the Bakwa

During their southward move along the Togoland ranges, the Bakpele made intermittent contact with Ewe groups who were fleeing westward from King Agorkorli of the Notsie Empire, who the Ewes consider as wicked. They finally settled in Kitikpa and Likpeto in the region of Hohoe where they made contact with the Gbi, a section of Ewe tribes who were also escaping from King Agorkorli's kingdom. The Gbi were originally part of Peki who shared a boundary with Anum. They left Peki due to the fact that they were dissatisfied with their Head-chief. During their migration northward, they came into contact with the Batrugbu (Nyagbo), Baagbo (Tafi) and Akpanawo (Logba) (Bobuafor,

2013; Dorvlo, 2008). Bobuafor's account suggests that the Baagbo were nicknamed *Tafi* 'head thief' by the Ewe due to the hostility they received from them. The Baagbo used guerrilla tactics to protect their lands from the Ewe by ambushing and beheading them at night. This and many other incidents caused the Gbi to move northward. The hospitality that the Gbi received from the Bakpele resulted in the name of their settlement **Hohoe** (hospitality).

The Bakwa and the Bakpele had knowledge of their location and had correspondence between them. It is believed that when they first made contact after their departure from Atebubu, the Bakpele referred to the cave dwellers as *BaGwa* meaning 'they are Guangs' and the cave dwellers in turn seeing the large group exclaimed, *Bakple* 'large group'. The Bakple were then lead by a female shaman called Klememfi and six hunters, three pairs representing the three main tribes. They were Alloh-Lemboe, Akonto-Lesiaku, and Ntri-Samba representing Abradi (Mate and Abrani), Akontokrom (Bala and Kukurantumi) and Tunkpa (Avedzeme, Agbozume and Koforidua) respectively. The Bakple controlled a large area of savannah woodland as far as the northern banks of River Koloe (Nubui) which was the boundary with the Ve, an Ewe ethnic group which had occupied the southern banks of the river. They also shared a common boundary with the Nkonya at River Fantibi. The Nkonya, after leaving Atebubu, settled in Bisimbli after a long journey through Larteh, Akwamu, Amedzofe, Gbledi and Kpando.

There was harmony between the Bakple, Bale and the Gbi until one day a tragic incident occurred where a hunter of the Gbi shot and killed a pregnant woman of the Bakple. The Bakple were displeased with this situation and prepared for war. The Gbi

discovered the plot through their spy network who said *ole ekpe li* meaning ‘they are sharpening stones’. It is believed that out of this statement came the name *Likpe* ‘stone sharpening’. However through the diplomacy of Ote Katsyankla, who offered to give the Bakple a new home close to his, a war was averted. The mediation between the Bakple and the Bakwa saw the former move closer to the latter.

Since the ancestral cave could not accommodate the multitude, they decided to settle in the valleys. Katsyankla and Katabuah remain in their original position in the south close to the caves, Ntiri and Samba established a town on the west called Okumasi, Alloh and Lemboe settled in the north in a town they called Abradi, while Akonto and Lesiaku settled in the centre and named their town Akontokrom. They came to a consensus and Katsyankla was made the *Osonsate* or *Omankrado* ‘landlord’ and convenor of all traditional meetings since he was first on the land before the others arrived. Ambe Klememfi, being the custodian of the Bakple deity *Lekple Boke*, was made the spiritual leader of the new settlement.

After a while, Ote Katsyankla convened a meeting with all the leaders stating that he could no longer work with a female chief. Ambe Klememfi abdicated and handed over the chieftaincy to Alloh and Lemboe. Alloh, the elder of the two, was installed as the first chief of Abradi. At the meeting, a proposal was put forth that the tribe that held the head chief should be located in the centre of the area. The rationale was that chiefs and kings should be well protected. In times of invasion and war, if one’s chief or king is captured, then the war is won on the part of the invaders. The implication of losing one’s chief includes servitude and paying homage to the captors. This proposal was disputed by Akonto and Lesiaku since they already occupied the centre. The leaders

decided to consult the oracle to establish which tribe was to occupy the centre. The leaders of the two tribes were each asked to present palm-fronds, which were to be buried in the ground for three days. After the third day, whoever's palm-frond had withered would settle in the centre. This process was followed. However, before the third day, legend states that the Abradi had craftily unearthed their palm-frond and manually withered it on a fire and placed it back in the ground. When the leaders inspected the palm-fronds on the third day, they realised that someone had tampered with them. Since noone was caught, it was established that it was the Abradi's palm-frond that was well withered. Later when the conspiracy was discovered, the Abradi were nicknamed *Mate* from *bate* 'they knew' because they knew about it. Akontokrom was also nicknamed *Bala* 'they liked it', stating that although they felt cheated, they were content with the outcome of the oracle.

Akontokrom was asked to move to the north and settled at *Sieti*. They later moved to and established the town of Bala. I would like to emphasise that the aim of documenting this narrative is not to stir enmity between these tribes. This account is common knowledge among all the Likpe communities. There are some accounts that are bitter and very sensitive between Mate and Bala which are best left out of this work. Evidence for this account is the fact that the people of Mate still own lands in Bala and beyond.

When all these events had come to pass, the leaders met again to seal the terms of the union or amalgamation². The governing body was shared among the leaders of the

² There is similarity and variation in chieftaincy institutions across cultures. In Likpe, the Otekple is the keeper of the state deity *Lekple Bole* in which the soul and spirit of the people is enshrined. He is the

four divisions as follows: (i) Ote Katsyankla remained the *Ɔsonsate* or the *Omankrado* ‘landlord’; (ii) Alloh, chief of Abradi became the *Otekple* or *Okankple* ‘Paramount chief’; (iii) Akonto, chief of Akontokrom became the *Ɔtsyiamɪ* ‘spokesperson’; and (iv) Samba, chief of Okumase became the *Okanto* ‘stool father’. The leaders also instituted a special annual festival Lekoryi (biannual these days) - a day when all the people of the group came together as one people with a common destiny. The chiefs and elders assemble at Mate, the central town for elaborate rituals and renew their loyalty to the Almighty God, the group goddess *Lekple Bɔke* and the ancestors. These days during the Lekoryi festival, libation is poured at the courtyard of the Paramount chief. Prayers are made to invoke the Almighty God, the Earth goddess *Asase Yaa* and there is reciting of the litany of the founding fathers of the Likpe state in this order: Katsyankla, Katabuah, Alloh, Lemboe, Akonto, Lesiaku, Ntri and Samba.

According to Westermann & Bryan (1952), speakers of the Togo Remnant languages (now GTM) represented the indigenous population of the area before the arrival of the Ewe and the Akan speaking groups. This account is confirmed by the oral traditions of most of the GTM groups, the Guangs, the Ewes and the Akans.

first leader among equals. He is not recognised as the supreme ruler over the others, since he did not get the leadership through conquest. It was during the German colonial rule and later in 1920, when the Native Administration Ordinance was introduced that the political leadership of chief of Mate as Paramount chief became crystallized and officially recognized. Ɔsonsate ‘landlord’ as the name suggests is the symbolic owner of the land. His roles include chairing meetings, installing and uninstalling a chief. Okanto ‘stool father’ plays advisory roles to the chief. He also plays a caretaker role in the absence of the chief. These days, we have the Usiɔnam ‘caretaker’ who represents the chief in his absence. The Ɔtsyiamɪ is the mouthpiece of the council. He reiterates messages to and fro between speakers and audience at meetings. The Ɔtsyiamɪ is mostly considered as the ‘linguist’ in most African cultures due to his function. Apart from the paramount chief, the other chiefs have sub-chiefs who play the above roles.

1.1.3 Economy

The Likpe area is predominantly agrarian. The vast majority of the people are crop farmers and hunters. Others engage in craftsmanship such as pottery, wood carving and basket weaving, and most have multiple occupations. Most of the women are traders, engaged in the sale of foodstuffs and basic commodities at market centres that rotate between towns in the area or elsewhere.

The Likpe people are noted for the cultivation of red or brown rice. Some common staple foods include maize, cassava, groundnut, plantain, cocoyam and water yam; cash crops include cocoa, coffee and oil palm; and fruits such as orange, papaya, and mango also grow in the area. These facts are based on my personal knowledge acquired through contact with the Likpe area.

1.1.4 Education

Every Likpe town has at least one primary school. Pupils in towns that do not have a Junior Secondary/high school go to the nearest town that does. There is one Senior Secondary school called Lisec (Likpe Secondary School) located at Likpe-Mate. Although these educational facilities are available, the majority of the pupils find it difficult to go beyond the Junior Secondary level. There is a general trend that children raised in the diaspora or cities excel in the educational domain compared to home-based children; this is a general educational assessment trend in Ghana³.

³ Statistics can be obtained from the Ghana Education Service: <http://www.moe.gov.gh/site/statistics> (assessed on 25/10/2014)

A new education reform was implemented in September 2007 to handle the prevailing problems in the objectives, content, administration and management of education in Ghana (see Appendix 2). However, the new educational reform falls short in its implementation. Literacy materials for mother tongue teaching are not available in most of the languages in Ghana and the language communities have been left to their fate for the development of their own materials. There is also inadequate equipment for Technical, Vocational, Agricultural and Teacher Training Schools. Conditions of service for teachers are still poor nationwide, with rural teachers more disadvantaged.

The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), a branch of SIL International, has for the past 30 years made efforts to organise literacy classes in the area. The Institute is also engaged in the translation of the Bible into Sekpelé and other GTM languages in collaboration with the Wycliffe Bible Translators International (WBTI). The New Testament in Sekpelé was published in 2009 and progress has been made towards the translation of the Old Testament. A couple of primers for literacy and language training are also available.

1.1.5 Religious affiliation

Since Likpe is an indigenous African traditional area, most rites and rituals such as birth, death, marriage and festivals are held in accordance with the custom and tradition of the area. The majority of people believe in super-natural deities and ancestral spirits. The influence of Christianity has in recent times caused most of the customs and rites to be simplified or abolished.

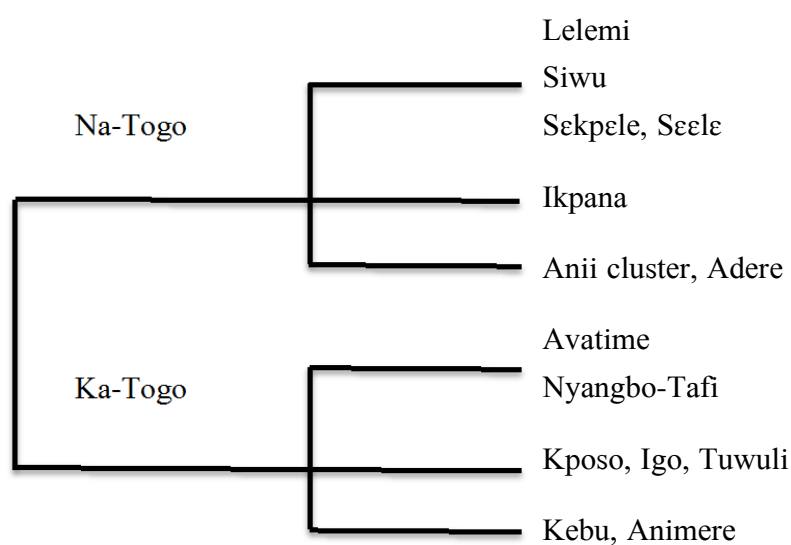
The prevailing Christian institutions in the area are the Catholic, Evangelical Presbyterian, and Pentecostal churches. Islam is practised by migrant settlers from Northern Ghana, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. They live in small settlements on the outskirts of towns called ‘Zongo’. The influence of Islam on Likpe people is minimal compared to that of Christianity.

1.2 The Language

1.2.1 Classification

Sekpelé belongs to the linguistically diverse group of languages spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana now referred to as the Ghana Togo Mountain languages (GTM). This group of languages belongs to the Kwa sub-group of the Niger-Congo languages. The name Ghana Togo Mountain language was first proposed and used by Ring (1995), however the group was first referred to as the Togorestsprachen (Togo remnant languages) by (Struck, 1912; Westermann & Bryan, 1952; Westermann, 1930, 1954) and later as the Central Togo languages by Kropp Dakubu & Ford (1988). Westermann and Bryan have also referred to the group as the class languages of Togoland due to the fact that the noun class system of the group is reminiscent of the Bantu languages. It was Greenberg (1966) who grouped them as a unit in his Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo phylum. Heine (1968) sub-classified the group into the KA and NA branches based on lexical and morphological evidence, as well as lexico-statistical analysis. The basis of this classification is the word for ‘meat’ in the various languages and Sekpelé falls within the NA group.

Figure 4: Heine's (1968) classification (as quoted from Blench 2009)



Heine's classification has been subjected to criticism by Blench (2001; 2009), suggesting that the group may be better treated as a mixture of single-branch nodes and small clusters.

Figure 5: Revised GTM classification (Blench 2009)

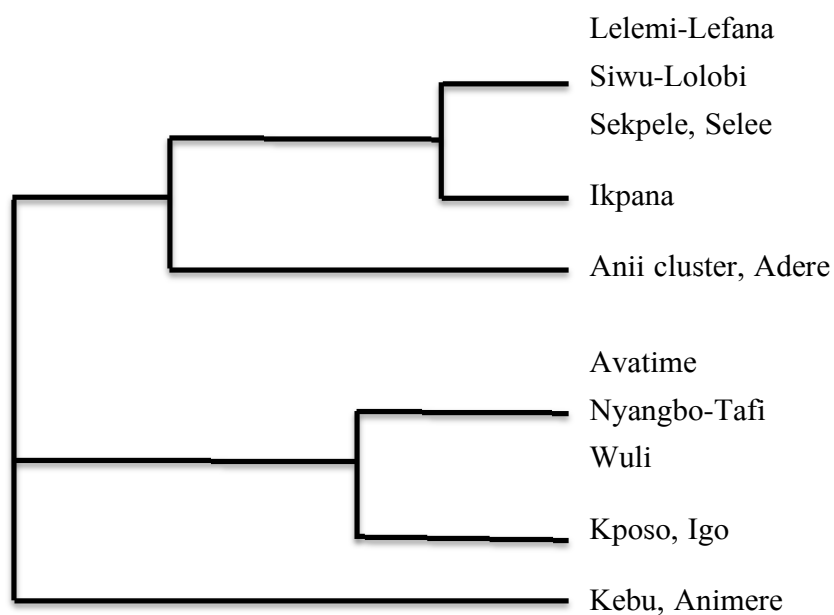
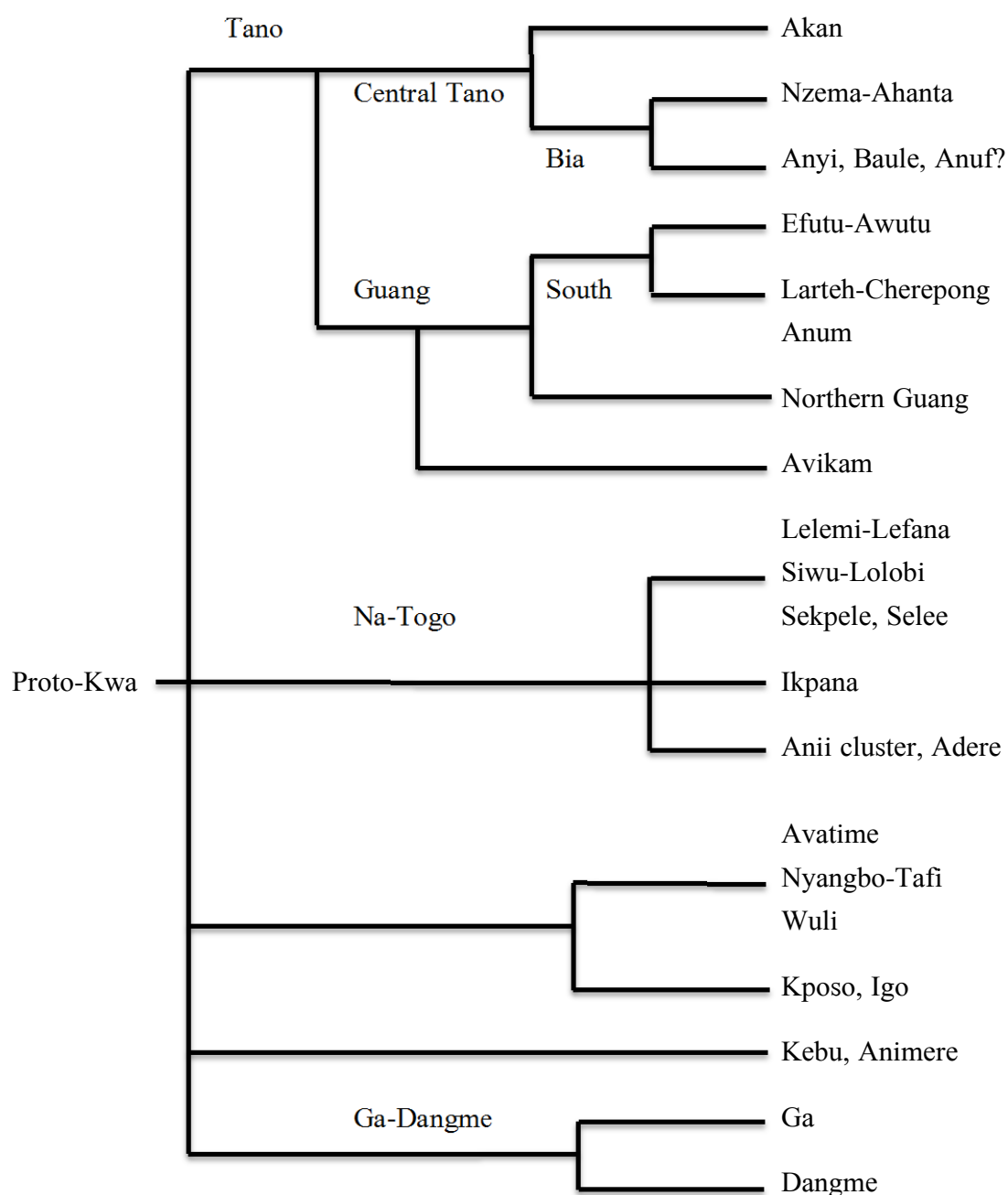


Figure 6: Classification of the Eastern Kwa languages



Adapted from (Williamson & Blench, 2000)

A word-list of all the GTM languages was solicited during the 3rd GTM workshop in Ho, Volta region of Ghana on 12th August 2011. The outcome of that project is not yet available.

1.2.2 Dialects and speaker multilingualism

Sekpelé, *Sekwá* and *Sele* (spoken by the Santrokofi people) can be said to form a language continuum. They are descendents of *Sele* ‘language’. One feature that differentiates Sekwá from Sekpelé is the fact that the former has voiced consonants in the final syllable of a Sekpelé variant word, in addition to its diverse vocabulary. Sekwá is spoken in Bakwa and Todome while Sekpelé is spoken by the rest of the towns. The Sekpelé variety can be sub-divided into (1) *Situnkpa* spoken predominantly in Agbozome, Avedzime and Koforidua; (2) *Semate* spoken in Mate and Abrani; (3) *Sela* spoken in Bala and Kukurantumi. This sub-division is based on tribal autonomy rather than clear dialectal differences⁴. However there seems to be some variation in terms of accent and style. Situnkpa seems to have some variant intonation. There is a need for further study of dialects in Sekpelé. The degree of intelligibility between Situnkpa, Semate and Sela is very high compared to that between Sekwa and the Sekpelé. There is an asymmetry in intelligibility such that Sekpelé is intelligible to Sekwá speakers, who are bi-dialectal, but not the other way round. Speakers of Sekwa are able to switch between both dialects but the same cannot be said of the speakers of Sekpelé.

⁴ According to a narrative I elicited, there was a chieftaincy dispute in the late 1920s that saw the split of some towns. Abrani and Kukurantumi used to be people of Mate and Bala respectively and have migrated to the current location.

Language	Sele				
Dialects	Sekwa	Sekpelé			Sele
		Situnkpa	Semate	Sela	
Towns	Bakwa	Agbozome	Mate	Bala	Benua
	Todome	Avedzime	Abrani	Kukurantumi	Bume
	Nkwanta	Koforidua			Gbodome

Table 1.1: The dialects of Sele

Most of the Likpe people are multilingual due to their geographical and linguistic proximity to other GTM languages (see Figure 1). The lingua-franca in the area is Ewe, which is used in schools, churches, markets and in the media. Some people also speak Akan, probably because it is the largest language group in Ghana. English is taught at school and it is the official language for administrative and formal settings. Most people who have not attended formal schooling tend to speak Pidgin English. Senior High school students who return home for vacation may also speak some form of Pidgin English as a language of association among themselves. Some speakers are in contact with French, and Togo varieties of Ewe, due to cross-border activities. Some speakers over 55 years are familiar with some German vocabulary, which was passed down to them by their parents and grandparents, due to the fact that the area was a German colony before the end of the First World War. Notwithstanding the influence of other languages, Sekpelé is normally the first language children acquire before they get in contact with other languages. Sekpelé is more stable in terms of its vitality when compared with a language such as Animere (a GTM language) which is in the verge of

extinction (all speakers over 50 years). Animere is plagued with a total shift to Akan (the national lingua franca in Ghana).

1.3 Methodology and research framework

The methodology adopted in this work is a fieldwork-based approach to cover the scope of the topics and the questions raised, employing language documentation techniques and descriptive linguistic guidelines proposed in Payne (1997), Woodbury (2005) and Chelliah & De Reuse (2011). This work began with Descriptive Linguistic Fieldwork as proposed by Chelliah & De Reuse (2011:7) as ‘the investigation of the structure of a language through the collection of primary data gathered through the interaction with native-speaking consultants’.

Activities undertaken during the research period include fieldwork, data analysis, and write-up of this thesis. There were two fieldtrips that were undertaken. The first fieldwork lasted for nine months from 15th September 2012 to 15th June 2013⁵. The second fieldtrip occurred between February and April 2014. The aim of that trip was to fill in the gaps in the data. I also collected data on the distinct dialect called Sekwa as spoken in Likpe Bakwa and Likpe Todome. I also had the opportunity to document a bi-annual festival of the Likpe Traditional council where most of the extinct and endangered customs and cultures of the Likpe people were portrayed.

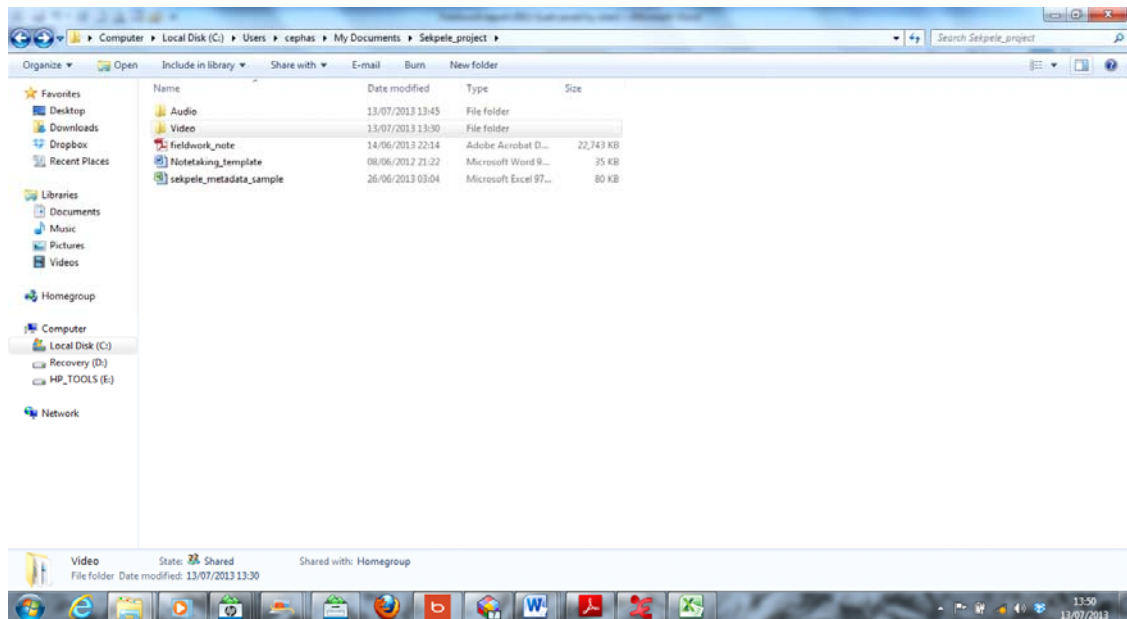
⁵ Prior to my flight to Ghana, I made preparations regarding the resources I needed for the fieldwork. I was able to secure all my equipment. I also made sure that I had downloaded and installed all the software (FLEx, ELAN, Transcriber, Audacity) I needed to process the data. I also secured some books as well as articles from various sources such as JSTOR. I used mendeley desktop to organise my bibliography (www.mendeley.com).

The field trip aimed to collect recordings from:

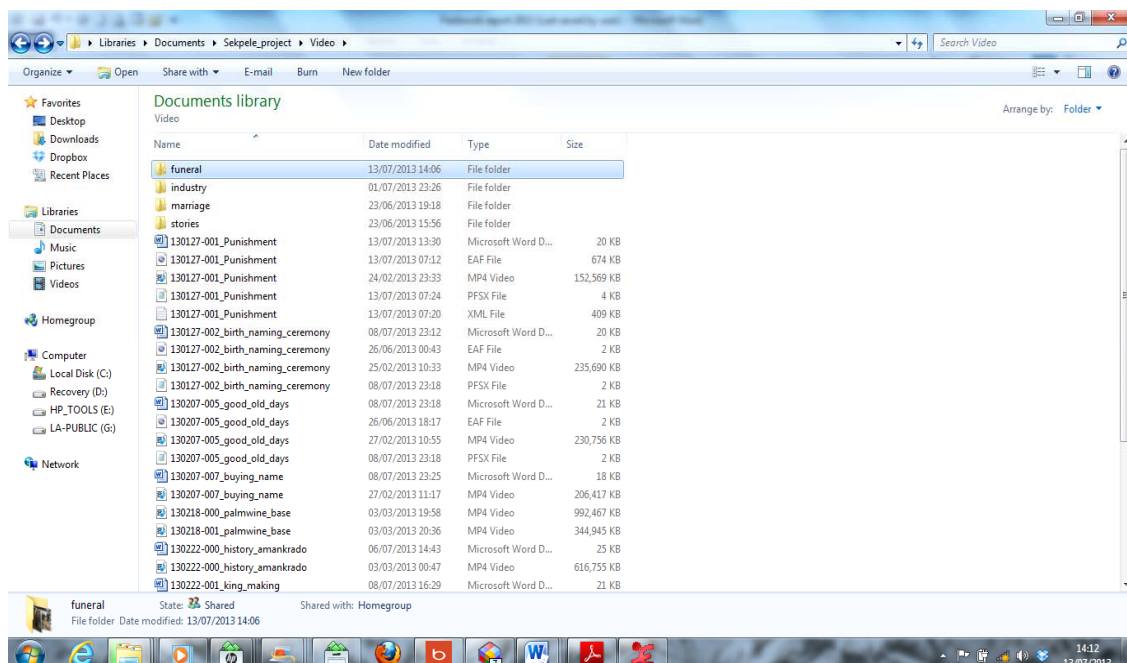
- Interviews, narratives and everyday conversation,
- Socio-cultural ceremonies such as festivals, birth and naming ceremonies, puberty, marriages, funerals etc.
- Socio-economic activities such as trading at the market place and farming.

Fortunately, my target for video was exceeded due to the enthusiasm of the communities towards the project. I was able to meet my recording target by observing activities such as storytelling, funerals, marriages, industrial activities, community based activities etc. All the video recordings were collected from spontaneous activities. Audio recordings were on the other hand collected by elicitation. I received great support from the entire community during community-based activities. I did not record market activities due to the fact that most traders were foreigners and the medium of communication was Ewe, the local lingua franca. A total of 33 audio and 150 video files were collected from the field.

Regarding data analysis, all the 33 audio files have been processed and interlinearized with FLEEx. 11 of the 150 video files have so far been transcribed into text and analysed. The entire collection of the project is grouped into audio and video, with fieldwork notes and meta-data.

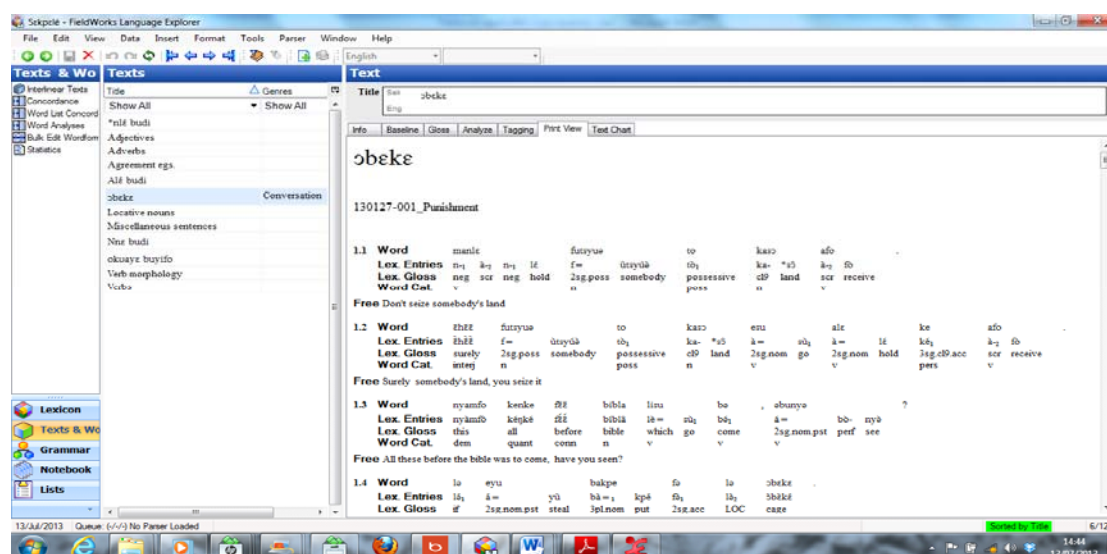


A total of 150 videos were edited and formatted into MP4 files. The video folder contains recordings from funerals, industrial activities, marriages, stories, and others taken from everyday activities and interviews.

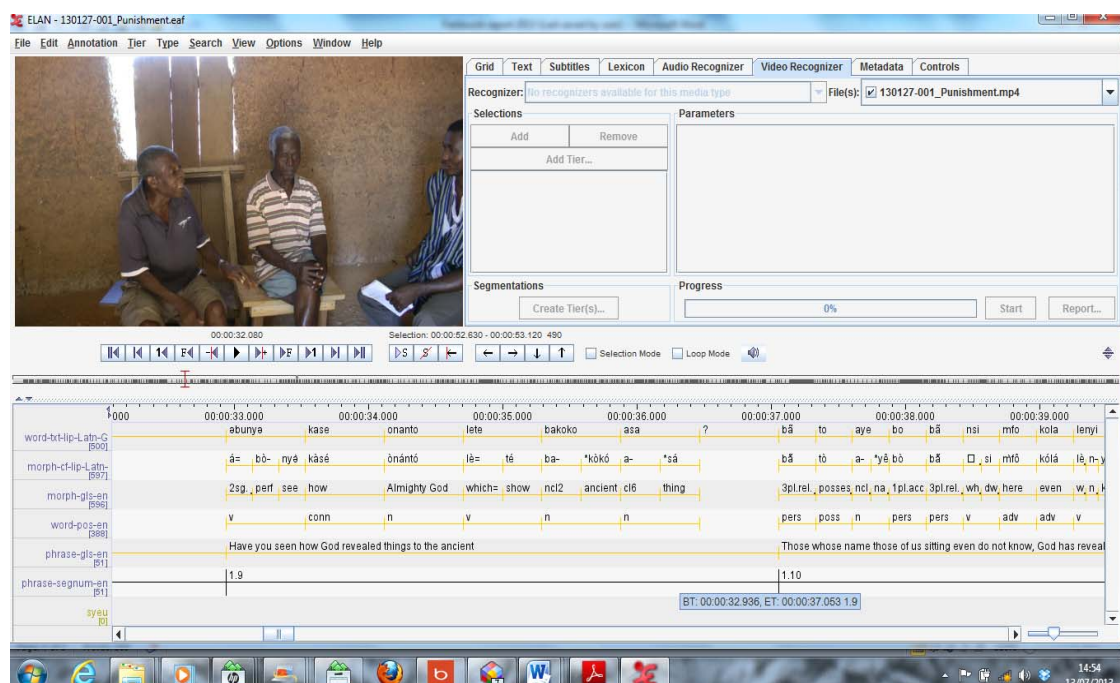


The video files were annotated with FLEEx by first transcribing with Microsoft word and then importing the text into FLEEx. This was due to the fact that I had issues with ELAN regarding use of an IPA font. This issue has now been resolved. The FLEEx platform consists of 5 categories: lexicon, texts and words, grammar, note book and list. Each of these categories has their own set of sub-categories.

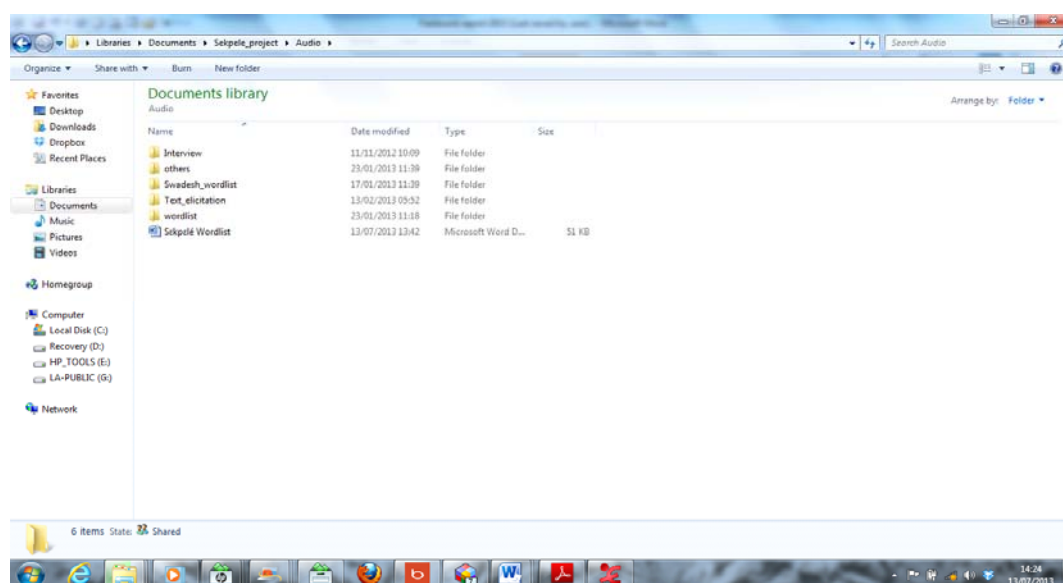
The imported text is registered in the ‘Interlinear text’ subcategory of the ‘text and word’ category. The info. field is use to enter meta-data information about the data. The baseline is where the raw text is entered. Then you can choose to work within the gloss or analyse fields. In both fields, you could choose to code for as many categories as desired in their configuration. The following are the predefined categories available for configuration: word, morphemes, lexical entries, lexical gloss, lexical grammatical info., word gloss, word category, free translation, literal translation, and note. I coded for all of these with the exception of literal translation in my ‘analyse’ field. However my choice of categories for the ‘print view’ is limited to: word, lexical entries, lexical gloss, and free translation to reduce duplication and redundancy as shown below.



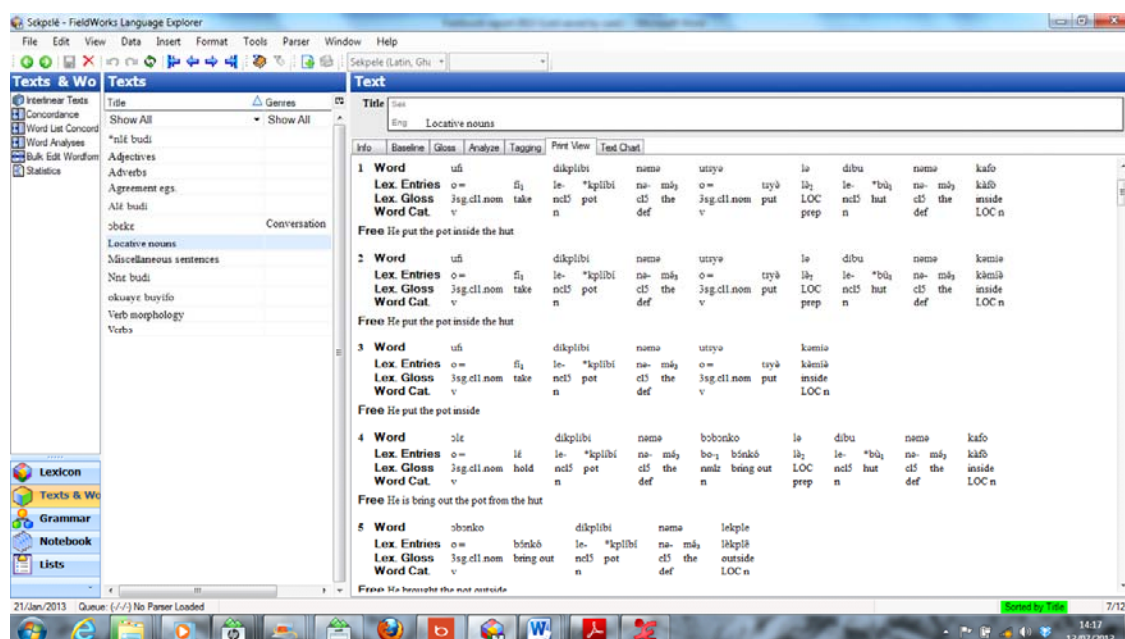
The outcome of the above FLEX analysis is then imported into ELAN along with its accompanying video file as shown below.



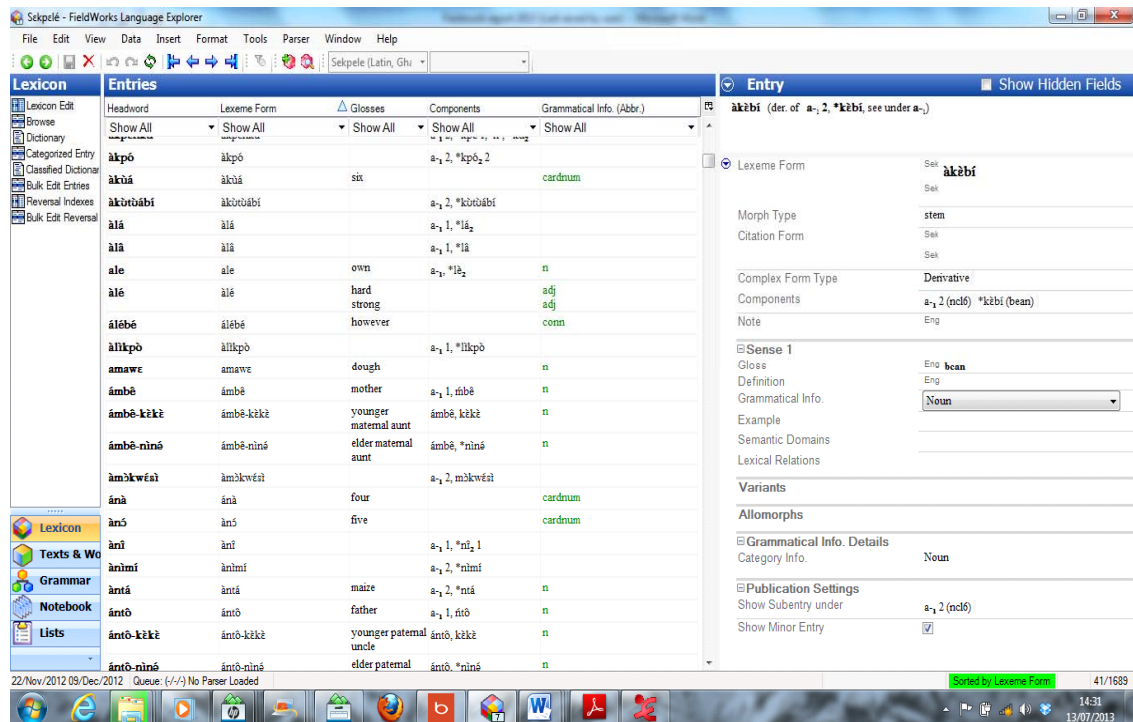
11 videos have so far been transcribed into text. The audio folder contains recordings from interviews, Swadesh wordlists, text elicitation and other wordlists.



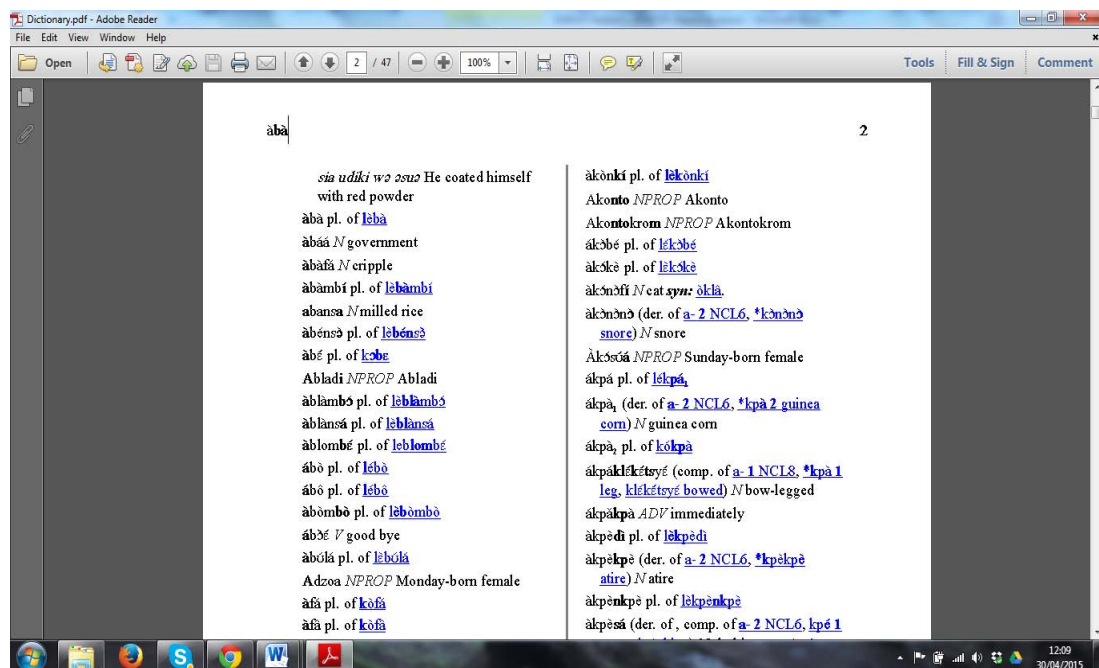
All the 33 audio files have been transcribed and annotated into FLEEx. They take the same coding as the video above. All the predefined categories with the exception of literal translation are included in my 'analyse' field whereas the 'print view' is limited to: word, lexical entries, lexical gloss, word categorises, and free translation.



My FLEEx data set currently has 2,158 lexicon entries and 3,160 wordforms. The 'lexicon edit' subcategory has the following predefined fields: lexeme form, morpheme type, citation form, complex form and components, gloss, definition, grammatical category, example, semantic domains, lexical relations, variant form and type, allomorph and type. There are also some hidden fields which include pronunciation, etymology, notes, usage, etc., which are left to the user to code.



The dictionary can be exported from FLEEx into a pdf output with the plug-in Pathway as shown below. The dictionary is going through periodic changes based on occasional reviews. The dictionary will be published as soon as the reviews are completed.



1.4 Presentation of data

The data in this thesis are presented in four lines, as illustrated in:

osani	ketsyenkle	əmə	əbə	mfo
ò-	*sàní kètsèŋklè	á-	mó à-	bó m̀fò
NCL1	man tall	CL1	the PFV	come here
‘The tall man came here’				(Adjectives 22.1)

The first line is the transcribed Sèkpele text generally without tone marking and presented in bold. The second line presents morphemic breaks of the first line and shows the underlying morphemes of the surface forms in the first line. The third line presents the interlinear English gloss of the morphemes in the second line. Autosegmental features such as tone are indicated on the second line unless the surface tone is different from the underlying tone, in which case the surface tone is indicated on the first line and the underlying tone on the second line. Bound roots are marked with asterisk ***** because they are meaningless until a prefix is attached to them. For instance, word **sàní**, uttered in isolation, does not mean ‘man’. Bound roots sound homophonic to verb and adverb. They take a noun meaning when a class prefix is attached to them. The fourth line presents a free English translation in single quotes ‘ ’ and the source of the example in bracket (). In cases where some aspects of the data are focused, they are presented in the second and third lines in bold, as in **əbə** ‘PFV.come’ above. Sample texts from which the data are extracted are provided in Appendix 6.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides literature reviews of some pertinent topics, issues and previous research relating to Sekpelé and Ghana Togo Mountain (GTM) languages as a whole. Section 2.1 deals with language documentation and description. Section 2.2 deals with the controversy surrounding the genetic classification of the GTM languages. Section 2.3 provides an overview of previous works on Sekpelé.

2.1 Language documentation and description

Himmelman (2006:1) defines language documentation as ‘the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties’. Language documentation entails the collection of primary data which includes audio or video recordings of communicative events (a narrative, a conversation, etc.), notes taken in an elicitation session, a vocabulary list, story or a genealogy written down by a literate native speaker. He goes further to explain what he means by ‘lasting’, ‘multipurpose’ and ‘record of a language’. However my interest in this section is not to comment on his definition of these terms, but how he links language documentation and language description together. Himmelman highlights some important features of language documentation, including focus on primary data, explicit concern for accountability, concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data, work in interdisciplinary teams, and close cooperation with and direct involvement of speech community.

Himmelmann distinguishes language documentation from language description which lies in the domain of structural linguistics. According to him, language documentation focuses on the collection of primary data for corpus creation and archival purposes whereas language description consists primarily of a grammar and a dictionary which target the language system. Description is based on the notion of the language as an abstract system of rules and oppositions which underlies the observable linguistic behaviour. I agree with Himmelmann's proposed framework of 'extended format' for language documentation which combines both the structures and format of Language Documentation and Language Description to capture a comprehensive fieldwork experience.

Mosel (2006:301-309) investigates the role of a sketch grammar in a language documentation project. She starts with a typology of sketch grammars, stating that there are at least five types; (1) the preliminary grammar that presents the very first account of a language's structure on the basis of a small corpus; (2) the introductory grammar chapter that accompanies the treatise of a specific research topic; (3) the summary of a large reference grammar; (4) the grammar in the front matter of a dictionary; and (5) the sketch grammar of a language documentation.

Mosel outlines the aims of a sketch grammar by stating that it is not a so-called "short grammar" as it does not aim at describing the language as a system but at facilitating access to the documentation. It serves as a kind of user's guide, essential for the utility value of the language documentation. The sketch grammar should; (1) contain all the grammatical information that the reader needs to make use of the lexical database and understand how in the corpus of annotated recordings the translations

relate to the transcriptions; (2) accurately reflect the author's current knowledge of the language at any stage; (3) be user-friendly.

Mosel also outlines the content of a sketch grammar. She suggests that the content of any sketch grammar depends on the structure of the language, the state of analysis, and how much and what kind of information is provided in the annotations and the lexical database. However, she states that descriptive characteristics of the language should include the following: charts of the consonant and vowel system; a note of the syllable structure, and most important phonological processes; a statement on how the orthography and/or transcription used in the documentation relate to these phonological processes; an overview of the word classes and grammatical categorises; inflectional paradigms; and word and constituent order rules that would help the user to quickly understand utterances.

2.2 Language classification

The classification of the GTM languages has sparked controversy over the years among linguists. Most of them propose an association with Kwa languages, whereas others propose a grouping within Gur, another sub-group of Niger-Congo. One prevailing fact is that most linguists have neglected the accounts of the native speakers regarding their migrations while relying on their current geographical location. Most GTM narratives suggest that they are Guangs. In the account of Likpe ancestral migration, the Likpe people claim they are Guang and they migrated from Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana to their current location in the Central Volta region of Ghana. There is

no relationship whatsoever between Atebubu and Likpe now, since Atebubu is a dominant Akan speaking area.

Blench (2009) gives an introductory account of the transformation of the language group's name over the 20th century. The language group was first named *Togorestsprachen* by Westermann & Bryan, 1952 (see also Westermann, 1932, 1933, 1954) after Struck (1912), which translates as 'Togo remnant' languages. Bertho (1952) seems to have been the first author to set out a comparative wordlist of these languages and to distinguish them from the Guang (Gondja) and Gur (Voltaïque) languages. Greenberg (1963, 1966) places them in the Kwa sub-group, a position supported by Stewart (1966). Heine (1968) treats the GTM languages as a unit; and he divides them into 'KA' and 'NA' Togo (see §1.2.1). The group was also referred to as the Central Togo languages by Dakubu & Ford (1988). The name Ghana Togo Mountain languages was first proposed and used by Ring (1995).

The GTM languages appear to be marked out by their noun-class system when compared to the Southern Ga, Ewe, and Akan groups. However, the functioning noun-class system has been neglected by earlier scholars, given their close proximity to the Guang and Gur languages, both of which have functioning noun-classes. Avatime and Kebu (GTM languages) have prefixes and suffixes, a characteristic they share with non-GTM languages like Dilo and Akassem (Blench, 2009). In the light of this, Rongier (1997) offered a major challenge to the GTM hypothesis by arguing that the languages with suffixing morphology would be better reclassified as Gur.

Dilo (Ntrubo) has been reassigned from Kwa to Gur following the expansion of available information (Jones, 1987). Bertho (1952), on purely lexical grounds, classified

Akebu and Ikpana (Logba) as Guang. Egblewogbe (1992) also questions the criteria for distinguishing the GTM from neighbouring Guang languages and includes a comparative wordlist to illustrate his points.

It seems appropriate to attempt a more up-to-date classification of the GTM languages and in particular to address outstanding issues as to the unity and membership of the group and its relation to Kwa as a whole. ‘The evidence is primarily lexical; accounts of the phonology and morphology of the GTM languages are not yet sufficiently detailed to approach their classification using other parameters, although this is certainly the next step’ (Blench, 2009).

In Westermann & Bryan (1952), the GTM languages are treated as one of the ‘Isolated Class language groups’ outside Kwa due to their class system which is reminiscent of Bantu languages. Westermann (1954) later published a short overview specifically focusing on this group which he called Togorestvölker.

Earlier opinions also favour a Gur affiliation and Heine (1968) cites the opinions of Johannes Lukas and Oswin Köhler in support of the idea. Rongier (1997) questioned the very existence of the GTM language group, reviewing languages for which he personally collected data, and on this basis assigned some GTM languages to Gur. Rongier’s argument was more morphological than lexical and it is true that neighbouring Gur languages (Dilo and Chala), show very similar nominal affix alternations to the GTM languages (Blench, 2009).

Heine (1968) attempted to demonstrate that the GTM languages form a genetic group. Heine’s argument was based largely on the lexicon, as he personally collected a 200 item wordlist for each of the languages of the group. Heine points to a number of

common lexical items shared by most of the languages. The problem with his analysis is that most of those words were also shared with many other Kwa and even other Niger-Congo sub-group languages, hence do not constitute proof for the distinctiveness of GTM languages (Blench 2009:22).

Blench cites the internal classification of GTM languages, comparing Heine's 'NA' and 'KA' (roots for 'meat') distinction to words like 'water', 'give', 'animal', 'oil or fat', 'bird' and 'hill or mountain'. The data and commentary show that the lexical boundaries proposed by Heine are nowhere perfect and perhaps appear more convincing when lined up as proposed starred forms with non-cognate forms omitted. Nevertheless, there are one or two common lexemes that match the NA group, in particular 'give' and 'water'. Against this, these are retentions, and are attested elsewhere in Kwa and Niger-Congo. It seems unlikely that further compilation of data would resolve this situation. The region is marked by extensive mutual interaction of language and borrowing which make this type of classificatory boundary hard to define precisely. It would probably be more accurate to regard the GTM languages as a series of clusters linked by overlapping isoglosses. There is more evidence to link together the NA languages than the KA languages, a view reflected in the revised classification (see Figure 3 and 4). Grouping the GTM languages with Kwa requires a demonstrated entity and there is no evidence for such an entity. The most useful provisional way of representing Kwa is thus as a diversified dialect chain with many parallel branches, pending more detailed work on the individual members of the subgroup. The phylogenetic tree proposed by Stewart and reproduced in Williamson & Blench (2000) retains accepted subgroups and treats all the languages included within Kwa as co-ordinate branches (see Figure 5).

2.3 Previous research in Sekpele

Most of the previous works on Sekpelé are comparative studies with other GTM languages. There is a limited amount of information on some aspects of Sekpelé grammar, consisting of small grammatical sketches found in Westermann & Bryan (1952); Heine (1968); Ford (1973); Alan (1980); Dakubu & Ford (1988) and Ring (1981; 1995). I have also identified two articles (Ring, Okyerefo, & Somevi, 2002; Ring, 2003) which are on the '*Language structures of Sepkele*' and the '*Phonology of Sekpelé*' respectively. The only comprehensive publications are Ameka (2002, 2006b, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2013) which focus on the progressive aspect in Sekpelé, topological relations in verbs, and verb extensions respectively. There is a current project by the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) to translate the Bible into Sekpelé and also to develop a dictionary of the language. The 2009 edition of the Journal of West African Languages (JWAL), volume 36 no. 1-2, contains three articles; '*Verb extensions in Likpe (Sekpelé)*' by Felix Ameka, '*The vowels of the Likpe language*' by Charlotte Fofo Lomotey, and '*Vowel harmony in Sekpelé*' by myself. In this section I will provide a review of the topics addressed by Lomotey (2009) and (Ameka, 2009b).

Lomotey (2009) gives a justification for the acoustic analysis of Likpe vowels by referring to Wayland (1998), arguing that 'converging evidence from articulatory, acoustic, perceptual investigation is necessary for the better and wholesome understanding of the acoustics of vowels'. She also makes reference to O'Connor

(1993) whose view is that, not all the features present in a sound wave can be perceived by the hearer.

Her study sample is derived from a total of 16 native speakers from Bakwa and Agbozume. Eight of the speakers were from Bakwa while the other eight were from Agbozume. The sample data had an equal ratio of males and females between the ages of 26 and 61 years. All speakers had no speech or hearing impairment. Seven vowels of Likpe were used to prepare the words which were recorded. The words were put in a carrier frame to form the sentences '*Tayi pepepepe*' which she claims means 'say only'. The sentences were printed on hard card and presented to the speakers to read three times. She also claims that the speakers were made to read the sentences as naturally as possible to reflect their everyday speech.

I have some doubts about the meaning of the frame words she proposed. Either Lomotey was given the wrong words or she perceived them wrongly. '*Táyí*' in Sekpele means 'to pluck' while '*pepepepe*' is an ideophone used by most languages in Ghana which means 'exactly'. The Sekpele word for 'say' is '*tér*' and 'only' is '*màtè*'. The method of elicitation involving writing words on a card and asking speakers to read and repeat does not capture a natural speech setting. What could have been done is to use words and sentences in English or Ewe and ask the speakers to say the corresponding words or sentences in Sekpele, keeping the cards of words as a reference to check if they are producing the right words.

Lomotey's data was analysed with the Kay Elemetrics computized speech laboratory software (CSL model 4500). The first and second formant frequency values of the vowels were measured on broadband spectrogram by minimising consonantal

influence on the vowels. A paired sample t-test shows there is no relationship between any of the vowels in Sekpelé. Her spectrogram chart shows an overlap for most vowels. Does this mean she may have missed some vowels in her representation? Is it possible that those overlapping vowels may include /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ (see §3.1.2)?

Her findings show that there are eight vowels in Sekpelé, an analysis which may have been preconceived from Ameka (2002). She also states that some speakers of Sekpelé produce the vowels [ə] the same way they produce [ɛ]. Others produce it the same way they produce [a]. She also claimed all speakers of Sekpelé, with the exception of a fraction from Bakwa, produce the vowel [a] as a back vowel. Lomotey's work has some shortcomings which include insufficient data and limitations of phonology. Her work does not provide enough data apart from the following words; [budi, bebi, babo, bə, bəbəbə]. She did not show the effect of adjacency with vowels in light of the fact that vowel harmony is prominent in Sekpelé.

I proposed a ten vowel system in Sekpelé (Delalorm 2009). Taking clues from Ameka (2002) and Ford (1973), it can be shown that historically there was a ten vowel system in Sekpelé. Ford (1973) proposes a cross-height harmony with the merger of the [ɪ] and [ʊ] with [i] and [u] in roots and with [ɛ] and [ɔ] in prefixes. However, I have demonstrated that these vowels are present in Sekpelé despite the fact that there are few instances (see §3.1.2). They occupy the root position and trigger harmony (see §3.4.1)

Ameka (2009b) discusses verb extensions in Sekpelé. Verb extension is a term used in the Africanist literature to designate the verbal affixes that are used to extend the verb root to form verb stems. Such affixes may change the valency of the root or stem to which they are added. They can be used to derive reflexive, reciprocal, causative, or

passive verb stems. They may also signal the direction or orientation of the state of affairs coded in the verb root/stem such as ‘ventive’ or ‘itive’. They may mark aspectual distinctions on the verb e.g. state. Verb extensions occur across the four phyla of the African continent. They are very prominent in GTM languages, yet their study has not been given the same prominence as the noun class and concord system. We can say that verb extension is a feature that distinguishes GTM languages from other Kwa languages because GTM have retained verb extensions whereas Gbe and Akanic languages have lost them.

There are several verb extension forms in Sekpelé: cline forms, productive and semi-productive, and frozen or fused forms. The productive forms are the causative *-sə* and the associative *-ko* (see §7.1.3) The semi-productive form is *-fə* which can be characterised as a ‘contactive’, ‘telic’ or directional derivation. There is also a non-stative extension *-ə* on some verbs like *si* ‘sit’ but it has become frozen with other verbs. The extensions can be stacked, but it appears that a maximum of two can occur on a verb root. Ring (2003) treats multisyllabic verbs in Sekpelé as monosyllabic verb roots with a restricted set of verbal suffixes.

3 SEKPELÉ PHONOLOGY

This chapter provides a review of phonological issues outlined and discussed by earlier research on the language. The outcomes of my findings are also available in Delalorm (2008; 2009). The aim of this Chapter is not to offer detailed phonological analyses, but to present phonological processes that are relevant to the subsequent morphological discussions.

Section 3.1 focuses on the sound inventory in Sekpelé. This includes an overview of consonants and vowels and their allophonic variations. Section 3.2 looks at tone and intonation patterns in Sekpelé. Section 3.3 focuses on the syllable structures and section 3.4 on some phonological processes in Sekpelé including vowel harmony and nasal assimilation.

3.1 Sound inventory

3.1.1 Consonants

According to Ring et al. (2002), there are a total of 17 consonant phonemes produced at 6 places of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar, labio-velar and glottal. Table 3.1 is a reorganisation of Ring's consonant inventory, with a split of labials into bilabial and labio-dental. The reorganised chart consists of 21 consonant phonemes produced at 7 places of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar, labio-velar and glottal.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Aveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Glottal
Plosive	(p) b		t d		k (g)	kp (gb)	
Fricative		f	s (z)		(x)		(h)
Affricate				tʃ ⁶ (dʒ)			
Nasal	m		n	ɲ ⁷			
Lateral			l				
Approximant			(r)	j ⁸	w		

Table 3.1: Consonant inventory of Sekpelé

The exact number of consonants in Sekpelé cannot be established unambiguously due to the fact that speakers are able to integrate new sounds from loanwords without influence of nativization, apart from /r/ → [l]. Segments in parenthesis, although found in some native words, are prevalent in loan words. /p/ can be found in words such as **ɔ̀pónú** ‘table’, **m̀pâ** ‘bed’ and **kàmpé** ‘a pair of scissors’ borrowed from Akan; /z/ and /r/ can be found in words such as **fètilàízá** ‘fertilizer’, **kèròzìn** ‘kerosene’, **rèdìò** ‘radio’ and **ròbà** ‘rubber’ from English; /dʒ/, /g/, /x/, /h/ can be found in words such as **àgbádʒé** ‘big bowl’, **gàsó** ‘bicycle’, **gàté** ‘cornmill’, and **òxé** ‘umbrella’ from an Ewe source.

Some voiced consonants appear as allophonic variants in some dialects of Sekpelé. The voiced consonants [z, dʒ, g, gb] are used mostly in word-final syllable position in the Sekwa dialect, whilst their voiceless counterparts are used in the other dialects of

⁶ In the orthography ‘tsy’ is used.

⁷ In the orthography ‘ny’ is used.

⁸ In the orthography ‘y’ is used.

Sekpele. Therefore there is final voicing in Sekwa. In initial position, [d] occurs as an allophone of /l/: whereas [d] occurs before high vowels, [l] co-occurs with other vowels. However, the Sekwa and the Sela dialects do not have such restrictions but treat [l] and [d] as free variants.

The sound [ŋ] has been excluded because of its allophonic status, and is realised only through homorganic nasal assimilation of /n/ in the environment of velar and labio-velar sounds such as **kàlèŋké** ‘sieve’, **ðlèŋkè** ‘crocodile’, **lèkpèŋkpè** ‘hill’ and **ŋkpóntù** ‘sperm lit: life water’.

3.1.2 Vowels

Earlier research such as (Ameka, 2002; Heine, 1968; Lomotey, 2009; Ring et al., 2002) proposed an 8 oral vowel system for Sekpelé. This includes /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ə/ and /a/ found in the following examples.

1)	/i/	/u/
	[sìtɔ́] – ‘clay’	[sìtù] – ‘metal’
	[ùtìdì] – ‘person’	[kùkúɔ́] – ‘book’
	[dìkplíbí] – ‘pot’	[ùtùpí] – ‘well’
	/e/	/o/
	[kètʃè] – ‘night’	[òklótíá] – ‘banana’
	[lèbà] – ‘rock’	[kàyó] – ‘debt’
	[ítè] – ‘wine’	[òkpó] – ‘toilet’
	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
	[òkwé] – ‘farm’	[kàsò] – ‘earth/floor’
	[òkpé] – ‘bowl’	[òkó] – ‘cough’
	[kèkè] – ‘little’	[òslòndò] – ‘concubine’

/a/	/ə/
[àtábí] – ‘money’	[bó] – ‘come’
[òklà] – ‘mat’	[sìmúó] – ‘neck’
[kàfíá] – ‘cloth’	[símè] – ‘smile’

However, Delalorm (2009) shows that the [-ATR] high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ exist in the language increasing the tally to 10 vowels. According to Ameka (2002)(cf. Ford 1973), it can be shown that historically, there was a ten vowel system where the [+High,-ATR] vowels were lost, leading to different mergers. Ford (1973) proposes a cross-height harmony with the merger of /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ with /i/ and /u/ in roots and with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in prefixes. In fact, these vowels have actually not been lost. Upon careful investigation, they are acoustically present in words that contain them such as the following examples:

2) /ɪ/	/ʊ/
[sèfíô] – ‘finger nail’	[lèwúnímí] – ‘sand’
[òdòminì] – ‘horse’	[àkùtùábí] – ‘groundnuts’
[àyìnkùá] – ‘fat’	[òpònù] – ‘table’
[òsí] – ‘witch’	[kàhùsíó] – ‘universe, world’
[kòní] – ‘arm’	[lèbúlá] – ‘onion’
[òyìmì] – ‘sibling’	[òfúé] – ‘snail’
[sínì] – ‘open’	[kàmòidídí] – ‘oracle’
[òsínó] – ‘mosquito’	[bútá] – ‘embrace, hug’
[téí] – ‘tell’	[wùlá] – ‘yawn’
[mínì] – ‘swallow’	[kúsè] – ‘tomorrow’
[kòtíni] – ‘mountain’	[òtòwósú] – ‘elderly sibling’
[lètígó] – ‘barrel’	[òflimú] – ‘donkey’
[bàfìmfí] – ‘twins’	[ósàmù] – ‘sheep’
[òyìnkó] – ‘worm’	[àmòmìó] – ‘wickedness’
[kófí] – ‘law, taboo’	[ókúé] – ‘voice’
[òfìmì] – ‘whistle’	[òkwé](òkúé) – ‘farm’
[kàmíní] – ‘sweetness’	[kàkwé](kàkúé) – ‘spider’
[kásíô] – ‘squirrel’	[àhònghùé] – ‘mirror’

[kòlìkpò] – ‘eagle’	[ɔ̀nùkùálé] – ‘truth’
[ókpì] – ‘grasscutter’	[lèsókpè] – ‘ring’
[kpíní] – ‘harvest’	[súsú] – ‘measure, think’
[lèmí] – ‘breast’	

Rather than analysing these vowels as variants of their [+ATR] counterpart, I propose to treat them as separate phonemes due to the notion of their perceptibility, syllable adjacency and the fact that they trigger [-ATR] harmony. This is illustrated in:

3) /ɪ/	/ʊ/
ú-kpì ‘beard’	dì-bùtù ‘bush’
ó-kpì ‘grasscutter’	lè-búlá ‘onion’
ù-yídù ‘root’	kè-bùtó ‘village’
ò-yìmí ‘sibling’	kà-hùsíó ‘universe/world’
kú-dì ‘grave’	
kò-ní ‘hand/arm’	

In example 3 shows near minimal pairs with contrast between /ɪ/ and /i/, and between /ʊ/ and /u/. /i/ and /u/ trigger [+ATR] harmony while /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ trigger [-ATR] harmony. Note also that, /ɪ/ and /u/ trigger height harmony, whereas /i/ and /u/ do not. Details of how harmony is achieved are discussed in §3.4.1. Figure 6 below provides a modified version of the vowel inventory of Sekpelé.

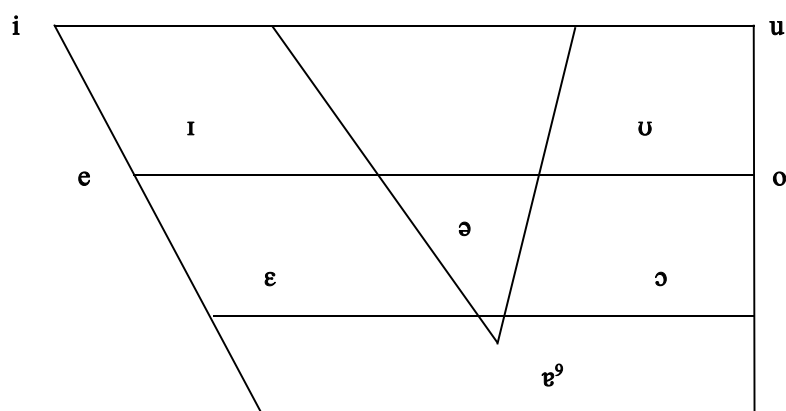


Figure 7: Vowel inventory of Sɛkpɛlé

These vowels can be grouped into two sets:

SET I (+ATR)			SETII (-ATR)	
-back		+ back	-back	+ back
i	ə	u	ɪ	ʊ
e	ɐ	o	ɛ	ɔ

The back vowels are all rounded while their front counterparts are unrounded. The central vowels /ɐ/ and /ə/ are also unrounded. However, /ə/ is as good a trigger of height harmony as the high [+ATR] vowels are (see §3.4.1.2). I am not sure of the total number of nasal vowels there are in Sɛkpɛlé, however there is evidence of underlying nasal vowels in the following examples:

- 4) [wǎ] – ‘cook’
 [lé-kpǎ] – ‘bat’
 [lɛ-wǎ] – ‘nose’
 [dì-wǎ] – ‘hoe’

⁹ In prefixes, there are two phonetic vowels: [ɐ] and [ǎ] which occur with +ATR and –ATR vowels in the verb root respectively. The phoneme with these two allophones is represented orthographically as <a>.

In the examples in (4) there are no nasal consonants to affect the vowels, so the nasal vowels must be assumed to be underlyingly nasal. Vowels co-occurring with nasal consonants in the rime are phonetically nasalized. There is also evidence that, in colloquial speech, nasal consonants may be deleted whilst the nasal feature spreads to an adjacent vowel. This process is mostly regressive and is discussed in §3.4.2.

3.2 Tone and intonation

Tone is a feature of most African languages (Manfredi 1993:133; Odden 1995:444; Welmers 1973:77; Yip 2002:130). If the pitch on individual syllables brings about different meanings in words which are otherwise segmentally identical in a language, then that language is a tone language (Bodomo, 1997:13). There are two types of tones: register (level), and contour tones. Sekpelé has two register tones: high and low. Tones are used to contrast mono-syllabic words such as the following:

- 5) tó ‘throw’
tò ‘build’
- 6) té ‘sell’
tè ‘know’
- 7) ká ‘drive’
kà ‘insult’

Sekpelé has contour tones that can be attested in the following examples which have falling tones:

- 8) òkpâ ‘dog’
lènyî ‘tooth’
òsî ‘witch’
kàsô ‘land’

Contour tones occur in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels differing only in tone, resulting in automatic lengthening for either a rising or falling tone, as in:

- 9) wèé → wě: ‘who’
 mèésù → mě:sù ‘I go’
 mùúsù → mǔ:sù ‘I will go’
 múùsù → mû:sù ‘I have gone’
 báàbà → bâ:bà ‘They had come’

There are two functions of tone: lexical and grammatical. The lexical function of tone applies to examples 5 to 8. Tone performs a grammatical function when a tone difference distinguishes grammatical categorises. Tone is used to distinguish TAM in Sekpelé as in the following examples;

- 10) Kòfí é-dí kàmó
 Kofi SCR.HAB-eat rice
 ‘Kofi eats rice’
- 11) Kòfí è-dí kàmó
 Kofi SCR.PFV-eat rice
 ‘Kofi ate rice’

Examples 10 and 11 are identical in all respect with the exception of the segments that indicate TAM. The segment in example 10 has a high tone indicating habitual aspect while that of example 11 has a low tone indicating a perfective aspect.

Intonation involves the use of pitch variation in relation to an entire sentence rather than with syllables and words (Bodomo, 1997:13). The expression of intonation is a universal phenomenon such that a falling intonation is typically used to express declaration while a rising intonation is used to express interrogation. Examples 10 and 11 above are declarative sentences with neutral or falling intonation while examples 12

and 13 below are interrogatives with rising intonation. Intonation is not marked; however in this section, they are marked in the same way as lexical or grammatical tone. A high tone is marked across the last word of a sentence to show rising intonation:

- 12) Kòfí é-dí **kámó**
 Kofi SCR.HAB-eat rice
 ‘Does Kofi eat rice?’

- 13) Kòfí è-dí **kámó**
 Kofi SCR.PFV-eat rice
 ‘Did Kofi eat rice?’

3.3 Syllable structures

Syllables bear tone in Sekpelé such that any segment that bears tone is capable of standing alone as a syllable or combines with other segments to form a syllabic structure. Syllable structures in Sekpelé include V, N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV:

V	-	ò.kpâ	-	‘dog’
		ò.sî	-	‘witch’
		à.tá.bí	-	‘money’
		wù.ú.sù	-	‘He will go’
N	-	m̃.bá	-	‘salt’
		m̃.bó	-	‘I came’
		ñ.tù	-	‘water’
CV	-	lè.má	-	‘war’
		kà.sô	-	‘land’
		sì.tó	-	‘clay’

CVV	-	kù.kúá	-	‘book’
		díá	-	‘leak’
		bìð	-	‘hide’
		téí	-	‘say’
		lè.sà.bí	-	‘knife’
CLV	-	fló.mà	-	‘change’
		ò.kló.bé	-	‘bird’
		ká.kpó.kló	-	‘tortoise’
CGV	-	ɔ-kwɛ	-	‘farm’
		ka.kwɛ	-	‘spider’
NCV	-	kù.kpà.nsé	-	‘famine’
		wé.ndí	-	‘He didn’t eat’
		ké.ɲké	-	‘all’
		á.mbe	-	‘mother’

All the syllable types occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions with the exception of prenasal syllable which occurs at word-medial and word-final position.

N = nasal consonant; L = lateral; C = obstruent consonant; G = glide and V = vowel.

3.4 Phonological processes

Sekpelé exhibits several phonological processes which are also attested in most West African languages (Casali 1995, 1998, 2002; Fadairo 2014; Hyman 1988; Schachter 1969). In this section, I will discuss vowel harmony and nasal assimilation due to the fact that they are the main phonological structures involved in morpho-phonological processes in Sekpelé.

3.4.1 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a phonological process that occurs between vowels of adjacent syllables in a word or in a morpho-syntactic domain. Vowel harmony is a type of long-distance assimilatory phonological process involving vowels such that vowels of adjacent syllable tend to share some phonetic features. Vowel harmony, according to Goldsmith (1990:304), is a term used to describe a restriction on the set of vowels possible within a given phonological domain, typically the word. A vowel harmony system is one in which the vowels of a language are divided into two or more sometimes overlapping subsets, with the condition that all vowels in a given word or domain must come from a single set. Katamba (1989) also defined vowel harmony as a process whereby within a particular designated domain, usually the word, all or some vowels are required to share one or more phonological properties. The vowels may assimilate in backness, height, ATR or roundness.

Vowel harmony is dominant in Sekpelé and is realised in lexical and morpho-syntactic structures. The morphological structure of Sekpelé is agglutinative, with some fusion. The language employs both prefixes and suffixes (see §4.3 and §7.1). Sekpelé displays anticipatory ATR harmony between roots and prefixes. There is also a step-wise rising height harmony triggered by the High [+ATR] vowels and the schwa (ə). This phenomenon may be unique to Sekpelé taking note that the high [+ATR] vowel and the schwa (ə) do not form a natural class. Assimilatory processes relating to vowel harmony in Sekpelé are regressive and therefore operate in the domain of stems and their prefixes. Suffixes in Sekpelé are not affected by vowel harmony.

Cross-linguistically, there are several vowel harmony types, often involving dimensions such as vowel height, backness, roundness, ATR and nasalization, and they may run through an entire word. However, vowel harmony in Sekpelé is limited to the ATR and height features of correspondent vowels, and it is obligatory between the first vowel of the stem and any prefixes. Both the prefix and stem vowels play their respective roles in both ATR and height harmony. In general, the stem vowel can be any vowel, but the prefix vowel is restricted to the alternation of [e, ɛ, i] if it is a front vowel, or [o, ɔ, u] if it is a back vowel, and [ɐ, ə, ɐ] if it is a central vowel. Their resolution depends on the vowel quality of the stem vowel. The data we are going to study in the following sections illustrate regressive harmony.

3.4.1.1 ATR harmony

A language is said to employ ATR harmony if vowels in a lexical or morphological domain share the same ATR feature. In Sekpelé, ATR harmony operates on the following conditions: There are ten phonemic vowels in Sekpelé and all ten vowels can occur as triggers of vowel harmony in the stem. These vowels can be categorised into three groups based on the form of harmony they trigger: group I consists of /e/, /ɐ/ and /o/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony; group II consists of /i/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /u/ which trigger [-ATR] harmony; and group III consists of /i/, /ə/ and /u/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony as well as a stepwise rise in height (see §3.4.1.2). There are three underlying vowels that can occur in prefixes namely front /e/, central /ɐ/ and back /o/. These underlying prefix vowels remain unchanged when they occur with stem vowels of group I. This is illustrated in:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14) a) sè-lé
NCL11-language
'language' | b) lè-bà [lè-bè]
NCL5-rock
'rock' | c) sè-bò
NCL11-towel
'towel' |
| 15) a) á-bê [é-bê]
NCL6-arrows
'arrows' | b) ká-kpá [ké-kpé]
NCL9-rat
'rat' | c) kà-yó [kè-yo]
NCL9-debt
'debt' |
| 16) a) kó-fê
NCL7-sun
'sun' | b) ò-kpâ [ò-kpê]
NCL1-dog
'dog' | c) kò-tó
NCL7-ear
'ear' |

The above data is an extract of the noun class system of Sekpelé (see §4.3). Examples 14, 15 and 16 show [+ATR] harmony of group I stem vowels. Example 14 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a front vowel prefix resulting in [e-e] in 14a, [e-ɛ] in 14b and [e-o] in 14c. Example 15 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a central vowel prefix resulting in [ɛ-ɛ] in 15a, [ɛ-ɛ] in 15b and [ɛ-o] in 15c. Example 16 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a back vowel prefix resulting in [o-e] in 16a, [o-ɛ] in 16b and [o-o] in 16c.

However, when the prefixes occur with stems vowels of group II due to their [-ATR] values they change to [ɛ], [ä] and [ɔ] respectively. This is illustrated in:

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17) a) lè-yî
NCL5-tooth
'tooth' | b) bè-bé
NCL11-palm kernel
'palm kernel' | c) lè-fɔ̃
NCL5-egg
'egg' | d) lè-búlá
NCL5-onion
'onion' |
| 18) a) à-yìnkùá [ä-yìnkùá]
NCL6-fat
'fat' | b) à-bé [ä-bé]
NCL8-palm fruit
'palm fruit' | c) kà-sô [kà-sô]
NCL9-land
'land' | d) kà-hùsíá [kà-hùsíá]
NCL9-universe
'universe' |
| 19) a) kò-tíní
NCL7-mountain
'mountain' | b) ò-kpé
NCL3-bowl
'bowl' | c) ò-bòbò
NCL3-chalk
'chalk' | d) ò-púnú
NCL3-table
'table' |

Examples 17, 18 and 19 show [-ATR] harmony of group II stem vowels. Example 17 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a front vowel prefix resulting in [ɛ-ɪ] in 17a, [ɛ-ɛ] in 17b, [ɛ-ɔ] in 17c and [ɛ-ʊ] in 17d. Example 18 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a central vowel prefix resulting in [ä-ɪ] in 18a, [ä-ɛ] in 18b, [ä-ɔ] in 18c and [ä-ʊ] in 18d. Example 19 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a back vowel prefix resulting in [ɔ-ɪ] in 19a, [ɔ-ɛ] in 19b, [ɔ-ɔ] in 19c and [ɔ-ʊ] in 19d.

Another area that Sekpelé employs vowel harmony is in the tense and aspect of verbs. This can be observed in the following examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 20) a) bó-té
1PL.PST-sell
'We sold' | b) bó-tò
1PL.PST-build
'We built' |
| c) bó-tò
1PL.PST-ask
'We asked' | d) bó-té
1PL.PST-allow
'We allowed' |
| e) á-té [é-té]
2SG.PST-sell
'You sold' | f) á-tò [é-tò]
2SG.PST-build
'You built' |
| g) á-tò [á-tò]
2SG.PST-ask
'You asked' | h) á-té [á-té]
2SG.PST-allow
'You allowed' |
| i) bé-te
2PL.PST-sell
'You sold' | j) bé-tò
2PL.PST-build
'You built' |
| k) bé-tò
2PL.PST-ask
'You asked' | l) bé-té
2PL.PST-allow
'You allowed' |

From the above, we can observe that examples 20a to 20d provide instances with their prefixes having a back vowel. In 20a and 20b, the prefix vowel surfaces as [o-] because the stem vowel is [+ATR] while in 20c and 20d, it surfaces as [ɔ-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. We can also observe that in examples 20e to 20h, the prefix vowels are central vowels and they surface as [ɐ-] in examples 20e and 20f because their stem vowels are [+ATR] while in 20g and 20h, they surface as [ä-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. Examples 20i to 20l provide instances where their prefixes are front vowels. In 20i and 20j, the prefix vowel surfaces as [e-] because the stem vowel is [+ATR] while in 20k and 20l, it surfaces as [ɛ-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. The discussion above can be represented with the autosegmental structure:



The diagram shows the spread of the [ATR] feature onto a preceding segment. If the stem has a [+ATR] value, then both the stem and the prefix will bear +ATR values. Likewise, if the stem has a [-ATR] value, then both the stem and the prefix will bear -ATR values.

3.4.1.2 Height harmony

Height harmony in Sekpelé involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa (ə) in the stem. This is interesting, given that /i/, /u/ and /ə/ do not form a natural class phonetically. This phenomenon, to my knowledge, is

unique to Sekpelé. In §3.4.1.1, I stated that there are ten phonemic vowels in Sekpelé which occur as triggers of vowel harmony in the stem. These vowels form three groups based on the form of harmony they trigger: group I consists of /e/, /ɛ/ and /o/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony, group II consists of /i/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /u/ which trigger [-ATR] harmony, and group III consists of /i/, /ə/ and /u/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony as well as a stepwise rise in height. I also demonstrated how the prefix vowel is restricted to the alternation of [e, ɛ, i] if it is a front vowel, [ɐ, ə, ɔ] if it is a central vowel, and [o, ɔ, u] if it is a back vowel. Their resolution depends on the vowel quality of the stem vowel.

I also hypothesised that the underlying prefix vowels are /e/, /ɛ/ and /o/ which represent the front, low and back vowel positions respectively. On this note, given that the stem vowel is either a [+high, +ATR] vowel or the schwa, then the prefix vowel will surface as [i], [ə] and [u] respectively. The schwa is realised as [e] in the prefix when it occurs with [i] or [u] as stem vowels by most speaker of Sekpelé, especially younger generation (see 21d and 21e). [ə] and [e] are used interchangeably and can be said to be free variants. It is possible that younger speakers are shifting for used of [e] in place of [ə]. The following data could be compared with those given in the discussion of ATR harmony in §3.4.1.1.

- | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| 21) a) ù-kùsé
NCL1-fowl
'a fowl' | b) ù-tídì
NCL1-human
'a human being' | c) ú-mà
NCL3-town
'town' |
| d) bè-kùsé/bè-kùsé
NCL2-fowl
'fowls' | e) bè-tídì/bè-tídì
NCL2-human
'human beings' | f) ká-mà
NCL4-town
'towns' |

g) si-tu	h) bî-sí	i) si-nə
NCL11-metal	NCL12-yam	NCL11-meat
‘metal’	‘yams’	‘meat’

Examples 21a, 21b and 21c when compared with 16a, 16b and 16c in §3.4.1.1 show that, the prefix vowels are underlyingly [o] and they surface as [u] in contexts where the first stem vowel is [+high, +ATR] or [ə]. In examples 21d, 21e and 21f we can also observe that the prefix vowel when compared with examples 15a, 15b and 15c should be the low vowel /ə/ but surfaces as [ə] or [e] due to its co-occurrence with a [+high, +ATR] or [ə] vowel in the stem. When we also compare examples 21g, 21h and 21i with examples 14a, 14b, and 14c, we realise that the prefix vowel is underlyingly /e/, but it is realised as [i] as a result of its co-occurrence with a [+high, +ATR] or the schwa.

The question may arise as to why the schwa is able to trigger a stepwise rise in height since it not a high vowel. Is it possible that [ə] was originally /i/? This is a difficult question to answer; however, if all the vowels in Sekpelé are arranged according to height symmetry, as shown below, then we may find a reason for this trend. The vowels in the first row are the corresponding high vowels of the second row:

High	i	ɪ	ə	ʊ	u
Non-high	e	ɛ	ɐ	ɔ	o

Nevertheless, the [+High,-ATR] vowels do not trigger the stepwise rise in height as we have seen earlier. This is because the height feature is not the only necessary factor but the ATR is as well. They do however conform to ATR harmony, as in:

- 22) ð-pónú
NCL3-table
'a table'
- 23) ð-sìnó
NCL1-mosquito
'a mosquito'

Vowel harmony in Sekpele is summarised in Table 3.2:

Prefix			Stem
Front vowel	Central Vowel	Back vowel	
i	e/ə	u	i
ɛ	ä	ɔ	ɪ
e	ɐ	o	e
ɛ	ä	ɔ	ɛ
e	ɐ	o	ɐ
i	e/ə	u	ə
ɛ	ä	ɔ	ɔ
e	ɐ	o	o
ɛ	ä	ɔ	ʊ
i	e/ə	u	u

Table 3.2: Summary of vowel harmony in Sekpele

Observation of Table 3.2 shows that the stem vowels can be grouped into three sets of vowels: {e, ɐ, o}; {ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ}; and {i, ə, u}, due to the fact that they trigger the same sets of vowels in the prefix. The first set of vowels trigger the prefix vowels {e, ɐ, o} representing front, central and back. The second set of vowels trigger the prefix vowels {ɛ, ä, ɔ} while the third set trigger the prefix vowels {i, e/ə, u}.

3.4.2 Nasal assimilation

I have discussed how adjacent vowels influence each other when they co-occur together. Consonants do also have some level of influence on each other and other segments. One

such instance is nasal assimilation which ensures that segments which occur close to nasals are either being influenced or vice versa. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sekpelé; vowel nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation.

Vowel nasalization is a phonological process between vowels and nasals such that vowels which co-occur with nasals are influenced to possess the nasal feature. It occurs in situations where a nasal follows a vowel and thereby spreads its feature regressively to vowel preceding it. At the word level, it appears that vowels preceding nasals are nasalized. I assume that they are oral vowels which undergo a transformation into their surface forms as shown in the following demonstration:

24) /lèblòmbé/	→	[lèblòmbé]	‘pineapple’
/kèŋké/	→	[kèŋké]	‘clean’
/kùntú/	→	[kùntú]	‘blanket’

Homorganic nasal assimilation also involves a process that ensures that nasals which co-occur with anticipatory consonants have the same place of articulation. A consonant spreads its place of articulation regressively onto a preceding nasal where there is a nasal-consonant sequence¹⁰. At the word level, one could observe nasals and adjacent obstruents sharing the same place of articulation as shown in the following examples:

25) [lèbòm̀b̀]	-	‘time/bell’
[n̩tòm̀b̀]	-	‘potato’
[ònántó]	-	‘God’
[lèfiáŋkù]	-	‘rag’
[kpéŋkpé]	-	‘plenty’
[kèŋké]	-	‘clean’
[bàf̩m̩f̩]	-	‘twins’
[lɛn̩s̩ó]	-	‘thanksgiving’

¹⁰ A consonant-nasal sequence is not acceptable in Sekpele.

The above data show the realisation of each nasal-consonant sequence sharing the same place of articulation. The data also show that multi-syllabic words undergo both nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation simultaneously.

At the morphological level, homorganic nasal assimilation occurs between stems and their prefixes. This is illustrated in:

- 26) ń-tù
 NCL-water
 ‘water’
- 27) m-bá
 NCL-salt
 ‘salt’
- 28) ɲ-kú
 NCL-sheabutter
 ‘sheabutter’

The above data show nouns belonging to the same noun class but varying in their prefixes. This is because each noun stem containing an onset consonant whose place of articulation the prefixes has to assimilate to.

Nasal assimilation is not limited to nouns but also applies to verbs. Verbs in Sekpelé can take as many as three prefixes, but my main concern is the past first person singular and negation because they involve the process of nasal assimilation. We can observe this in the following data:

- 29) ń-dí
 1SG.PST-eat
 ‘I ate’

- 30) m-bá
1SG.PST-come
'I came'
- 31) ŋ-ká
1SG.PST-drive
'I drove'
- 32) mé-n-sù
1SG.PST-NEG-go
'I didn't go'
- 33) mé-m-bá
1SG.PST-NEG-come
'I didn't come'
- 34) má-ŋ-ká
1SG.PST-NEG-drive
'I didn't drive'

The 1SG.PST is realised without a vowel when it immediately precedes the stem while it retains a vowel which results into a /mV/ structure when there is an intermediate prefix closer to the stem. Both the 1SG.PST and the NEG have /N/¹¹ as their underlying form. In both instances, the surface forms vary, depending on the place of articulation of the stem onset. However, if both prefixes are represented, then we have the form [mV-N-] – the first prefix representing the 1SG.PST and the second representing the NEG.

Finally, an exceptional nasal assimilation occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive

¹¹ N is a cover symbol representing a nasal consonant

employed by all harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to the nasal in a nasal-lateral environment. This can be illustrated with the first person singular present progressive construction. The stem of the verb is /lɛ/ ‘to possess/hold’, and it is realised as [nɛ] when it occurs with the 1SG pronoun **n** = :

35) a) nɛ budi

ṇ = lé bù-dí
1SG = possess NMLZ-eat
‘I am eating’

b) *nɛ budi

ṇ = lé bù-dí
1SG = possess NMLZ-eat
‘I am eating’

36) aɛ budi

à = lé bù-dí
2SG = Possess NMLZ-eat
‘You are eating’

37) ɔɛ budi

ḁ = lé bù-dí
3SG = possess NMLZ-eat
‘S/he is eating’

38) bɔɛ budi

bḁ = lé bù-dí
1PL = possess NMLZ-eat
‘We are eating’

39) bɛɛ budi

bḛ = lé bù-dí
2PL = possess NMLZ-eat
‘You are eating’

- 40) *bale* *budi*
 bà = *lé* *bù-dí*
 3PL = possess NMLZ-eat
 ‘They are eating’

From the above we can observe that the data contain the verb stem *le* which literally means ‘to hold’ or ‘to possess’ something. In these constructions, it is being used to express the state of being involved in an action or event. The verb *le* maintains its form when any prefix is attached to it except the first person singular pronoun, as in example 30a. It shows a change from */le/* to *[ne]* due to the occurrence of the nasal prefix. Example 30b is ungrammatical and unacceptable phonetically, but is represented in text and literature orthographically. A probable explanation for this phenomenon may be the fact that a nasal-lateral sequence is forbidden phonologically. There is a need to investigate if this phenomenon occurs in neighbouring languages and other languages of the world in general. Secondly, the compromise on the part of the lateral instead of the nasal is due to the fact that nasals have dominant effects on adjacent segments such that they spread their nasal feature onto them.

3.5 Summary

In summary, there are ten vowels in Sekpelé, however, the exact number of consonants that Sekpelé has is uncertain due to the fact that the language is able to integrate new sounds from loanwords without the influence of nativization. Sekpelé has two register tones: high and low. Sekpelé has a falling contour tone which occurs at word-final position, as well as in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels, differing only in tone in a high-low sequence. Rising tones occurs in cases where there are adjacent

vowels which are identical and have a low and high tone respectively. The syllable structures in Sekpelé include V, N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV. There are two phonological processes: vowel harmony and nasal assimilation. There are also two kinds of vowel harmony: ATR and height harmony. The direction of the vowel harmony process is regressive and it occurs between the first stem vowel and the prefix vowel such that the stem vowel spreads its features to the prefix vowel. ATR harmony is realised such that the stem vowel and the prefix vowel share the same ATR values. The height harmony in Sekpelé involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa (ə) in the stem. The [+High, -ATR] vowels do not trigger the stepwise rise in height. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sekpelé: vowel nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation. Vowel nasalization is a phonological process between vowels and nasals such that vowels which occur with nasals are being influenced to possess the nasal feature. Homorganic nasal assimilation also involves a process that ensures that nasals which co-occur with anticipatory consonants have the same place of articulation. A consonant spreads its place of articulation regressively onto a preceding nasal where there is a nasal-consonant sequence. There is an exceptional nasal assimilation which occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive employed by all harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to nasal in a nasal-lateral environment.

4 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

This chapter discusses the noun morphology of Sekpelé. Sekpelé is a language that has noun classes and two sets of agreement systems. Section 4.1 defines and differentiates terms used in the domain of nominal classification. Section 4.2 outlines the criteria for noun class assignment cross-linguistically. Section 4.3 identifies and outlines the various noun classes in Sekpelé. Section 4.4 focuses on agreement, the agreement class and the domains of agreement. Section 4.5 discusses some noun derivational processes in Sekpelé.

4.1 Noun class system

4.1.1 ‘Noun class’ and ‘Noun classifiers’

A noun class system is a grammatical system that languages use to overtly categorise nouns. Dixon (1986:105) defines noun class as ‘an obligatory grammatical system, where each noun chooses one from a small number of possibilities’. It is important to distinguish ‘noun classes’ from ‘noun classifiers’, which is a lexico-syntactic phenomenon of noun classification. Ways of marking noun class include an affix to the noun and other elements within the noun phrase, or within the sentence to show concord¹². Noun classifiers on the other hand, are separate lexemes which may be included with a noun in certain syntactic environments and their scope is mostly limited

¹² This is the main point of noun classes in that they must participate in agreement systems, where the noun controls agreement on its targets, which are other elements in the noun phrase or sentence and, where agreement is usually marked by affixation on elements other than the noun.

to the noun phrase. In many languages, such as Austroasiatic languages, classifiers are required in the context of numeral quantification of a specific noun (Adams 1986:241). Another term used to refer to noun class is grammatical gender (Corbett 1991:43; Payne 1997:107). Both noun classes and noun classifiers perform the same semantic task of categorising objects in terms of relevant parameters of world-view. They provide information about physical design (size, sex, animacy, shape etc.), function or use, cognitive categorises in a given culture, and social role and interaction (Dixon 1982:178; Lakoff 1986:13).

Noun classes are a typological feature of Africa as a linguistic area, while noun classifiers (specifically numeral classifiers) are a typological feature of East and South-East Asia. These distributions can partly be explained in terms of a correlation with the well-established classification into inflectional, agglutinative, and isolating languages. Languages that tend towards isolating (as in East and South-East Asia) most typically employ noun classifiers, whereas languages that are strongly agglutinative (as in Africa) or inflectional (as in Indo-European) prefer systems of noun classes (Dixon, 1986).

4.1.2 ‘Noun Class’ and ‘Gender’ Systems

It is also important to distinguish ‘noun class’ from ‘gender’ as we have done for ‘noun classifiers’ in §4.1.1. The term ‘gender’ is typically used for ‘sex-based’ languages, which make a two or three way distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter (Aikhenvald, 2000; Greenberg, 1978; Heine, 1982). Gender is typically found in Indo-European, Afroasiatic, and Dravidian languages and is distinct from the ‘noun class’

systems of the Niger-Congo languages. Whereas gender systems may be covertly marked for class assignment and agreement, noun class systems are overtly marked.

Despite the fact that gender systems are generally more covert systems than noun class systems, both are to a large extent structurally similar, because they are defined and identified through the presence of agreement. Nouns in these systems belong to a finite number of sets and trigger agreement on agreeing elements, which may include definite determiners, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals and anaphoric pronouns (Sagna, 2008; 2010). This accounts for the frequent interchangeable use in the typological literature of ‘gender’ (Corbett, 1991; Creissels, 2010; Greenberg, 1978; Heine, 1982) or ‘noun class’ (Aikhenvald, 2000; Dixon, 1982; 1986) as cover terms in the description of these grammaticalized systems of nominal classification.

4.2 Noun class assignment

Corbett (1991:7) states that noun class or gender assignment may depend on two basic types of information about the noun: its meaning (semantics) and/or its form. Information about form may in turn be of two types: word-structure, comprising derivation and inflection (morphology), and sound-structure (phonology). Dixon 1982 and Lakoff 1986 also propose a cultural Important Property Principle, where nouns of a language are assigned to a class based on the myths or cultural beliefs of the people who speak the language. In summary, there are four main ways by which natural languages categorise nouns into noun classes:

- 1) Semantic criteria – according to similarities in their meaning.
- 2) Morphological criteria – according to nouns having similar forms.

- 3) Phonological criteria – nouns beginning or ending with a vowel or consonant belong to a class.
- 4) Cultural criteria – according to cultural myths and beliefs.

However there can also be a combination of these criteria with one of them more prevalent. Morphological systems are connected to semantic systems. First, they always have a semantic core. There is no purely morphological system; the morphological rules assign the nouns in the semantic residue to genders, that is, they are required where semantics fails. And second, they may also overlap with the semantic rules (Corbett, 1991:34). No system of noun classes is completely devoid of semantic motivation. If a language has non-semantic principles of noun class assignment the assignment principle will be mixed, since there is always a ‘core’ where semantics operates (Aikhenvald 2000:25).

4.3 The noun class system of Sekpelé

Noun class systems are common to most Niger-Congo languages. The trait of Niger-Congo morphology which provides the main material for comparison is ‘the system of noun classification by pairs of affixes, one for the singular, and another for the plural’ (Greenberg, 1966:9). As we will see in this section, there are also unpaired groups of nouns. Niger-Congo languages differ in the number of noun classes they exhibit, with some having more than ten. The Bantu languages occupy a special place in gender studies, since many of them have an extensive gender system. The Proto-Bantu language is reconstructed to have a total of 22 noun classes, however no language is

known to express all of them; but most of them have at least 10 noun classes. Meinhof (1906) cited in Corbett (1991:43) states¹³:

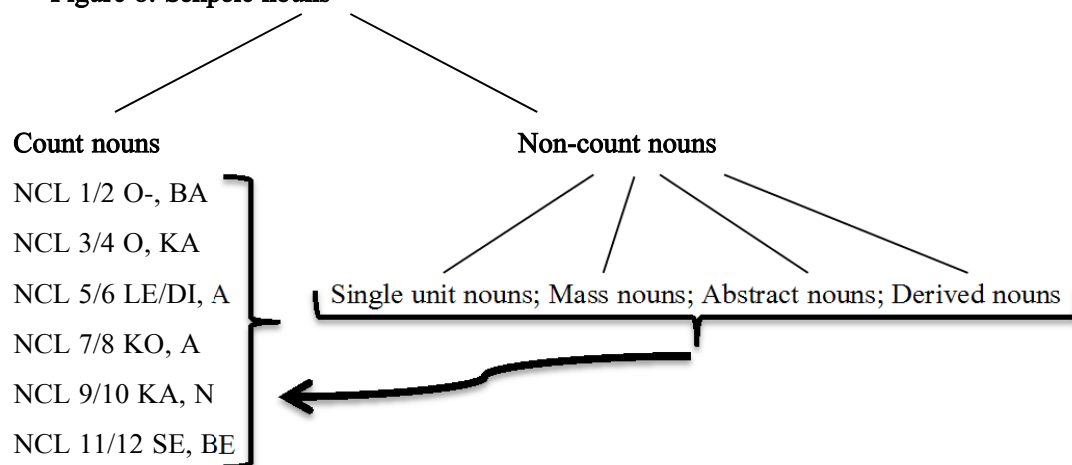
A language may go a bit further in relation to gender-signalling such that a noun may contain a discontinuous noun class marker which is the overt sign of the category to which the noun belongs. If the grammatical categorises of gender and number interplay in such a way that each noun in a given language belongs to a selective category of gender, as soon as we can say that the specific gender class to which a given noun belongs is characterised by its own class affix (prefix, infix, suffix or some combined), we can speak of a Noun Class Language or Class Language.

One characteristic that distinguishes the GTM languages from the rest of the Kwa (branch of Niger-Congo) languages is the fact that they possess a noun class system. Sekpelé has its unique set of noun classes, although there are similarities across the GTM language group. Vowel harmony plays an integral role in the outcome of the interaction of the noun roots/stems and their prefixes. The aim of this section is to identify the various noun classes and to show how harmony plays a vital role in the alternation of their morphological structures.

Languages often make a grammatical distinction between nouns that refer to things that can be counted (count nouns) and those that refer to substances (non-count nouns), like water, sand, air, wood, etc. (Payne 1997:41). There are two sets of noun forms in Sekpelé: count nouns (those that have singular and plural pairs) and mass/abstract nouns (single or unpaired). Each noun class consists of some sets of alternating prefixes either

¹³This quote is also found in De Wolf (1971:34)

due to vowel harmony or homorganic nasal assimilation. The prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of noun class and number and are morphologically attached to the noun roots or stems (which are bound forms themselves) to form noun words. There are six paired count noun classes (ie twelve individual classes), three mass/abstract noun classes and a class of derived nouns. The classification used in this work is based on the Bantuist tradition, where every countable noun is assigned to two classes: one singular and the other plural. The singular classes are assigned to odd numbers while the plural classes are assigned to even numbers. This is due to the fact that number places a vital role in distinguishing between syncretic forms. For instance, the KA form has two groups: one singular and the other plural. I name them NCL4 and NCL9. NCL4 is the plural counterpart of NCL3 (O form) while NCL9 is the singular of NCL10 (N form). This classification of Sekpele noun classes is mine and it is independent of that of Kropp Dakubu & Ford (1988) and Heine (1968) , however I show how my account relates to theirs. Figure 8 is a chart of the Sekpelé noun classification and its sub-classifications. The morphological structure of the non-count nouns corresponds to one of the paired count nouns and they show agreement with their correspondent modifiers (see §4.3.4 and §4.4.4). Although I have put the non-count nouns into separate groups, this does not mean they belong to distinct classes to those of the count nouns. The arrow in Figure 8 indicates that the non-count nouns belong to the same classes as the count noun. They are morphologically identical and the share the same agreement classes. What distinguishes the non-count noun from the count nouns is the fact that they do not have corresponding singular or plural forms. Some of them can be used for a singular, plural or collective sense depending on the context.

Figure 8: Sekpelé nouns

4.3.1 Count noun classes

4.3.1.1 NCL1/2 – O, BA

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /o-/ for the singular form and /ba-/ for the plural form. Semantically, this class pair generally consists of animate entities related to humans and animals. This class pair is in correlation with class 1 of Heine and class 1/2 of Dakubu. Table 4.1 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
ò-kpâ	bà-kpâ	dog
ò-sânî	bà-sânî	man
ò-tô	bà-tô	elephant
ò-fĩŋfĩ	bà-fĩŋfĩ	twin
ò-yìmì	bà-yìmì	sibling
ò-kô	bà-kô	corpse
ó-kpì	bá-kpì	grasscutter
ò-lèŋkè	ba-lèŋkè	crocodile
ò-sî	bà-sî	witch
ò-sìnó	bà-sìnó	mosquito
ù-flùflú	bè-flùflú	grandchild
ú-sìè	bó-sìè	wife
ù-síó	bè-síó	woman
ù-tídì	bè-tídì	person

Table 4.1 Members of noun class 1/2

The above data show some variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The singular class prefix has [o-], [ɔ-], and [u-] while the plural class prefix has [ba-] and [be-] or [bə-] as variant output forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.

4.3.1.2 NCL 3/4 – O, KA

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes with /o-/ for the singular form and /ka-/ for the plural form. The structure of this class pair is similar to that of NCL 1/2: the only distinguishing element is that this class has a **ka-** in the plural form as opposed to a **ba-** in NCL 1/2. Semantically, this class pair consists of inanimate entities as opposed to those of NCL 1/2 and it ranges over foodstuffs, plant parts, furniture and household items. This class pair is in correlation with class 2 of Heine and class 13/14 of Dakubu. Table 4.2 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
ò-díákàmì	kà-díákàmì	tongue
ò-fiàmé	kà-fiàmé	handkerchief
ò-kàsá	kà-kàsá	needle
ò-kàníé	kà-kàníé	lamp
ò-klà	kà-klà	mat
ò-klótíá	kà-klótíá	banana
ò-lòkòtúkú	kà-lòkòtúkú	cotton
ò-kuàyé	kà-kuàyé	soap
ò-klé	kà-klé	pepper
ò-kpé	kà-kpé	bowl
ò-kwé	kà-kwé	farm
ò-pùnú	kà-pùnú	table
ò-tòtò	kà-tòtò	okra
ù-kó	kè-kó	tail
ù-kpì	ké-kpì	beard
ù-kúbì	kè-kúbì	spoon
ù-kùè	ké-kùè	rope
ù-mè	ké-mè	town
ù-yìdù	kè-yìdù	root

Table 4.2 Members of noun class 3/4

The above data show variation in the vowels in both the singular and plural class prefixes. This is similar to the occurrence in NCL 1/2 (see §4.3.1.1), where the singular class prefix has [o-], [ɔ-], and [u-] as variant forms while this time the plural class prefix has [ka-] and [ke-] or [kə-] as variant forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.

4.3.1.3 NCL5/6 – LE/DI, A

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /**le-**/ or /**di-**/ for the singular form and /**a-**/ for the plural form. The two variants of the singular form are complementary to each other such that the **di-** is attached to stems with [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa while **le-** is attached to stems with any other vowels. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human body parts, cooking utensils, fruits and vegetables, farm tools and natural artefacts. This class pair correlates with class 3 of Heine and class 5/6 of Dakubu. Table 4.3 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
lè-bà	à-bà	rock
lè-blombé	à-blombé	pineapple
lè-fántó	à-fántó	leaf
lè-fòkpá	à-fòkpá	footwear
lè-kpènkpè	à-kpènkpè	hill
lè-siábí	à-siábí	knife
lè-búlá	à-búlá	onion
lè-fǒ	à-fǒ	egg
lè-yî	à-yî	tooth
lè-kwésì	à-kwésì	chest
lè-mòkwésì	à-mòkwésì	shoulder
lè-nìmí	à-nìmí	finger
lè-wǒ	à-wǒ	nose

Table 4.3 Members of noun class 5/6 (first variant)

The above data show that the singular prefix has [**le-**] and [**le-**] as variant forms while the plural prefix is orthographically represented as [**a-**]. [**le-**] co-occurs with stems whose initial vowels are [-high, -ATR] while [**le-**] co-occurs with any other vowels

especially the [-high, +ATR]. [a-] has two allomorphs: [ɐ] and [ä], which co-occur with [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels respectively. This applies to NCL8 too.

Table 4.4 shows some members of the other alternative form of this class pair. This group of nouns shows prefixes [di-] as the singular form and [e-] as the plural form. This is due to the fact that they are attached to stems that have the [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa, triggering a stepwise rise in height from the underlying form (see §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony).

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
dí-sì	é-sì	head
dì-yíò	àyíò (à-yô)	house
dì-bíntsyè	è-bíntsyè	vulture
dì-kùtù	è-kùtù	orange
dí-nè mí	é-nè mí	face/eye
dì-wúá	à-wúá	hoe
dí-bì	é-bì	drum
dì-bíá	è-bíá	hole
dì-yíè	àyíè (à-yê)	name
dì-tùntù	è-tùntù	bottle
dì-kplíbí	è-kplíbí	cooking pot
dì-yíbíbí	è-yíbíbí	seed
dì-kpá	à-kpá	skin/bark
dì-bùtù	è-bùtù	bush

Table 4.4 Members of noun class 5/6 (second variant)

4.3.1.4 NCL 7/8 – KO, A

This class pair includes nouns whose stems have class prefixes /ko-/ for the singular form and /a-/ for the plural form. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human parts and ecological entities. This class pair correlates with class 5 of Heine and class 11/12 of Dakubu. Table 4.5 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
kó-kpà	á-kpà	leg
kò-tó	à-tó	ear
kò-bé	à-bé	palm tree
kó-kè	á-kè	mortar
kò-nî	à-nî	arm
kò-tìni	à-tìni	mountain
kú-dì	é-dì	grave
kú-kpìò	é-kpìò	valley
kú-sà	à-sà	song
kú-sù	é-sù	mushroom
kù-sú	è-sú	road

Table 4.5 Members of noun class 7/8

The above data show some variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The structure of the prefix vowels of this class pair is the same as that of NCL 1/2 and NCL 3/4. The singular class prefix has [ko-], [kɔ-], and [ku-] while the plural class prefix has [a-], [e-] and [ə-] as variant output forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.

4.3.1.5 NCL 9/10 – KA, N

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /ka-/ for the singular form and /N/, a homorganic nasal, for the plural form. Generally, this class pair consists of some animate entities such as animals. It also contains some human body parts, settlements and clothes. This class pair correlates with class 6 of Heine and class 9/10 of Dakubu. Table 4.6 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
kà-bámbà	m̀-bámbà	wing
kà-ńfá	ń-ńfá	cloth
kà-fò	ń-fò	belly
ká-kpá	ń-kpá	rat
ká-kwé	ń-kwé	spider
kà-sô	ń-sô	land
ká-sùò	ń-sùò	squirrel
kà-yó	ń-yó	debt
kà-ńâ	ń-ńâ	mouth
kè-bité	m̀-bité	lady
ké-bùtó	m̀-bùtó	village
kè-sié	ń-sié	monkey
kè-yifò	ń -yifò	work

Table 4.6 Members of noun class 9/10

The above data show variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The singular class prefix vowel is a central vowel which causes the prefix to surface as [ka-] but varies when the stem vowel is [+high, -ATR] or the schwa and surfaces as [ke-] or [kə-] as a result of a stepwise rise in height (See also §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony). It also shows that the plural prefixes undergo homorganic nasal assimilation such that each nasal prefix assumes the same place feature as the stem onset it is attached to.

4.3.1.6 NCL 11/12 – SE, BE

This class pair is made up of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /se-/ for the singular form and /be-/ for the plural form. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human body parts, foodstuffs, furniture, ecological and heavenly bodies.

This class pair correlates with class 4 of Heine and class 7/8 of Dakubu. Table 4.7 provides some members of this class pair:

Singular	Plural	English Gloss
sè-bó	bè-bó	towel
sé-fà	bé-fà	grass
sè-fàndèbi	bè-fàndèbi	star
sè-lé	bè-lé	language
sè-bé	bè-bé	palm kernel
sè-ffó	bè-ffó	finger nail
sì-kú	bì-kú	door
sì-múá	bí-múá	neck
sì-sí	bì-sí	yam
sí-tù	bí-tù	iron/steel
sì-yû	bì-yû	thorn

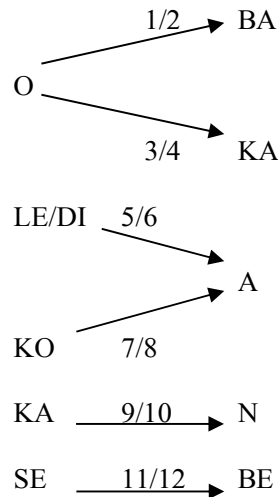
Table 4.7 Members of noun class 11/12

The above data show that both the singular and plural prefix vowels have the same form and their variation is dependent on the features of the stem vowel they are attached to. The surface forms [se-] and [be-] are realised if the stem vowel is a non-high vowel with a [+ATR] feature. On the other hand, if the non-high vowel possess a [-ATR] feature, [se-] and [be-] will surface as the output forms. However, if the stem vowel is a high [+ATR] vowel, then the output forms will be [si-] and [bi-] (See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony).

4.3.2 Ambiguity in noun classes

Most noun class systems show different classes with identical forms. Most linguists analyse these systems by using one class marker form to encode two or more classes.

This phenomenon is referred to as ‘syncretism’ (Corbett, 1991:190) and ‘superclassing’ (Evans, 1997). Sɛkpɛlé is no exception to this phenomenon and is illustrated in:



The chart above shows structural syncretism of NCL1 and NCL3; NCL6 and NCL8; and NCL4 and NCL9 (where the same class marker is used for a singular class as well as a plural class). Although the classes are structurally identical and may share the same agreement class, this is not enough. Agreement should not be the only factor in putting nouns together. A group of people may shape the nouns in a language based on semantics, pragmatics, and on cultural ideology and identity. For instance, NCL1 and NCL3 are structurally identical but are distinct based on animacy. NCL1 contains animates entities while NCL3 contains inanimate entities, so are their plural counterparts. Although NCL1 and NCL2 are the class of animates, some animals and ‘ladies’ are in NCL9 and NCL10 (see Table 4.6). This may be due to some cultural ideology of some sort. These animals are popularly used in folktales. I cannot tell why ‘vulture’ and children’ are in NCL5 and NCL6 (see Table 4.4). Culturally, ancestors are revered and ‘corpse’ and ‘ancestral spirits’ are placed in NCL1 and NCL2. So it may be

wrong for one to sum a group of nouns together just because they are structurally identical and their corresponding singulars or plurals also sum up with other totally distinct classes on the same bases.

The presence of syncretism brings about ambiguity in identifying the class of a noun. How can one tell which class a noun belongs to? This is where semantics comes into play. There are two ways of identifying the class of a noun: (1) semantic principles based on the inherent meaning of the noun, and (2) the corresponding singular or plural of the noun. The class of NCL1 and NCL3 can be distinguished on the bases of animacy; NCL1 is the class of animates whereas NCL3 is that of inanimates. However, NCL6 and NCL8 do not have such a distinction which makes it difficult to identify the class of a noun from its inherent meaning. In this case, the class of the corresponding singular gives us the clue to the identity of the class. For instance, the nouns **á-kpà** ‘legs’ and **à-fòkpá** ‘footwear’ have the same prefix form, however their corresponding singular forms are **kó-kpà** and **lè-fòkpá** which belong to classes 7 and 5 respectively. Therefore **ákpà** is assigned to class 8 while **àfòkpá** is assigned to class 6. This later approach also applies to the identity of NCL4 and NCL9 (see also §4.4.2).

4.3.3 Mass and abstract noun classes

These classes of nouns consist of those which do not distinguish number. They either come as a single unit or they are abstract in nature such that their numerical value cannot be ascertained. In this section, I have grouped the nouns according to their semantic characteristics instead of their morphological structure and agreement. There are four groups of nouns and they are represented in the tables below. These are not

morphological groupings. Figure 8 in §4.3 show how these nouns in this section are morphologically related to the count nouns.

Table 4.8 contains members of nouns that are abstract in nature:

Noun form	English Gloss
àsuálé	strength
bènàké	inheritance
èkúdi	curse
ètsí	speed
kàýí	pain
kètúntù	darkness
kòbé	knowledge/wisdom
kùkpènsé	hunger
kùmónè	madness
lèkpá	proverb
lèmâ	war
lèbúá	bad/evil
íkpó	life
ùkpó	death
ntámú	oath
òlésiè	morning
dìtsitsó	evening
kàkómì	afternoon/daytime
kètsyé	night
léfè	time/period

Table 4.8 Abstract nouns

Table 4.9 contains members of nouns that are classified as a single unit:

Noun form	English Gloss
àtábì	money
èsúó	body
àwù	clothing
kàsô	earth
kàtó	sky
kòfàndè	moon
kófè	sun
kómá	scissors
kòyó	shadow
kàhùnsíé	world
àsì	market

Table 4.9 Single unit nouns

Table 4.10 contains members of nouns that are voluminous and mass in nature:

Noun form	English Gloss
díwì	sweat
kèsú	urine
kétù	river
kótà	mud
kúyùè	smoke
lèkpò	sea
lèhúnúmí	sand
lèyó	cold
m̀bá	salt
ńtè	wine
ńtó	ash
ńtù	water
ńtùfǎ	saliva
òbòntsú	dew
òpé	fog
ùtê	fire
sìté	soil/dust
ùfièbí	air/wind

Table 4.10 Mass nouns

Table 4.11 contains members of derived nouns:

Verb form	Noun form	English Gloss
ká	bòká	driving
kà	bòkà	insulting
té	bòté	teaching
tò	bòtò	asking
yé	bòyé	walking
dí	bùdí	eating
dú	bùdú	leaving

Table 4.11 Derived nouns

4.4 Agreement

Agreement refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another (Steele, 1978:610). Matthews (1997:12) also defines agreement ‘as a syntactic relation between words and phrases which are compatible in a construction by virtue of inflections carried by at least one of them’. Agreement has been used interchangeably with ‘concord’ by some linguists. Other linguists make a distinction, with some using ‘concord’ as the cover term, while others use ‘agreement’ as the cover term. Linguists who follow Bloomfield (1933) treat ‘agreement’ as the superordinate term while those who follow Greenberg (1978) treat ‘concord’ as the wider term (Corbett, 2006). According to Jespersen (1924), ‘concord is the agreement between secondary words and the principal that they belong to’. Concord (or agreement) may be described as a system in which two or more sets of grammatical items (e.g. inflections) attached to different lexical items or constructions are mutually dependent given certain conditions (Bach & Harms 1968: 117).

4.4.1 The agreement types

A language may have several agreement classes (Corbett 1991:147, 2006:120). I showed earlier that Sekpelé is a language that has a noun class system that inflects for number. Sekpelé also has two sets of agreement class markers that do not only inflect for number but each class marker set distinguishes two types of target that agree with the nouns they are in a constituent with. One set of markers is attached to determiner stems such as the definite article and demonstratives (Agreement Type I), while the other set is attached to the indefinite article and numeral stems, pronouns and anaphoric elements (Agreement Type II).

Class	Noun Class		Agreement Type I		Agreement Type II	
	Sg Prefix	Pl Prefix	Sg Prefix	Pl Prefix	Sg Prefix	Pl Prefix
CL 1/2	o-/ɔ-/u-	ba-/bə-	a-/ə-	ba-/bə-	o-/u-	ba-/bə-
CL 3/4	o-/ɔ-/u-	ka-/kə-	a-/ə-	ka-/kə-	a-/ə-	ka-/kə-
CL 5/6	le-/lɛ-/di-	a-/ə-	nə-	a-/ə-	le-/di-	a-/ə-
CL 7/8	ko-/kɔ-/ku-	a-/ə-	ko-/kuə-	a-/ə-	ko-/kuə-	a-/ə-
CL 9/10	ka-/kə-	bo-/bɔ-/bu-	ka-/kə-	bo-/buə-	ka-/kə-	bo-/buə-
CL 11/12	se-/sɛ-/si-	be-/bɛ-/bi-	siə-	biə-	se-/sɛ-/si-	be-/bɛ-/bi-

Table 4.12: The agreement classes

The markers for the agreement types are very similar, with a slight variation in CL1 and CL5. CL1 has the markers /a/ and /o/ while CL5 has the markers /nə/ and /le/ respectively. The differences in CL1 and CL3 of the agreement type II shows an animacy distinction: CL1 and CL3 are animate and inanimate respectively. The above prefixes attach to the modifier stems in Table 4.13 to form modifier words which co-

occur with their respective nouns to form a larger constituent, taking into consideration their structural and number agreement.

Modifier Stem	Function	English Gloss
mó	Definite	the
m̃fó	Distal Demonstrative	that/those
m̃fõ	Proximal Demonstrative	this/these
tsyúá ¹⁴	Indefinite	some/ a certain
ní	Numeral	one

Table 4.13: The modifier stems

Class	Singular	Plural	English Gloss
CL 1/2	ámá	bámá	the
	ámfó	bámfó	that/those
	ámfõ	bámfõ	this/these
	ùtsyúá	bètsyúá	somebody/some people
	òní	bàní	one
CL 3/4	ámá	kámá	the
	ámfó	kámfó	that/those
	ámfõ	kámfõ	this/those
	ètsyúá	kètsyúá	something
	àní	kàní	one
CL 5/6	námá	ámá	the
	námfó	ámfó	that/those
	námfõ	ámfõ	this/these
	ḍìtsyúá	ètsyúá	some
	lòní	àní	one
CL 7/8	kómá	ámá	the
	kómfó	ámfó	that/those
	kómfõ	ámfõ	this/those
	kùtsyúá	ètsyúá	some
	kòní	àní	one
CL 9/10	kámá	bámá	the
	kámfó	bámfó	that/those

¹⁴ [tʃuə]

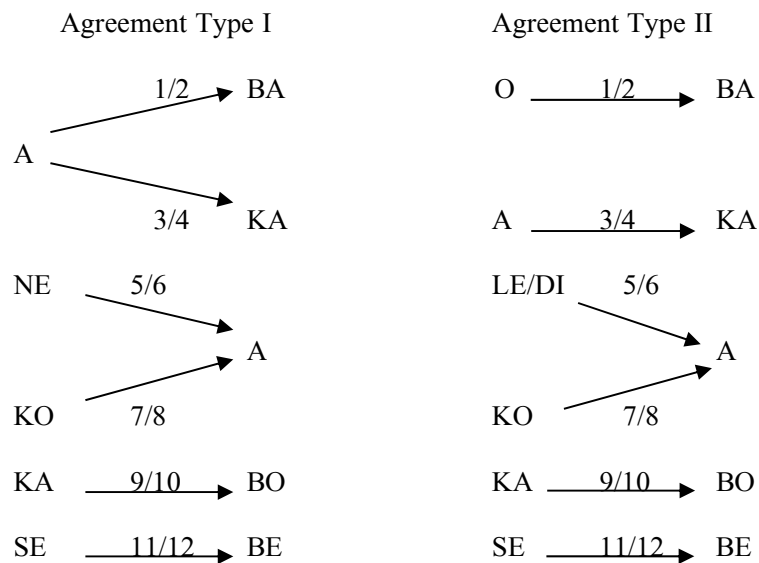
T	kámfô	bómfô	this/those
	kàtsyúá	bùtsyúá	some
	kàní	bòní	one
CL 11/12	síámá	bíámá	the
	síámfó	bíámfó	that/those
	síámfô	bíámfô	this/those
	sìtsyúá	bìtsyúá	some
	sòní	bòní	one

Table 4.14: The modifier words

The prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. The stems in isolation are meaningless until the prefixes have been attached to them.

4.4.2 Ambiguity in agreement classes

I have discussed how the noun class system of Sekpelé shows syncretism in §4.3.3. This phenomenon also applies to the agreement types and is illustrated in the chart below:



Type I is attached to determiners such as the definite article and demonstratives. Type II is attached to the indefinite article, numerals, personal pronouns and other anaphoric element. The chart above shows syncretism of NCL1, NCL3, NCL6 and NCL8 in Type I and of NCL3, NCL6 and NCL8 in Type II. There is also syncretism of NCL4 and NCL9 in both types where the class marker refers to a singular class as well as a plural class.

In §4.3.3, I illustrated that the presence of syncretism brings about ambiguity in identifying the class of a noun. I proposed a semantic-morphological approach by which two strategies are employed in the identification of the class of a noun: (1) the inherent meaning of the noun and (2) the correspondent singular or plural of the noun. In this section, a third strategy is proposed where the class of the noun which triggers the agreement could give us a clue as to the type of the modifier or anaphor. A noun and its modifier of one agreement type may share the same structure as another set but they are glossed differently. For instance, a noun of NCL1 will trigger the same agreement form as that of NCL3, NCL6, and NCL8 in agreement type I. However, they will be glossed on the modifier differently as CL1, CL3, CL6, and CL8 respectively. The same applies to the case of NCL4 and NCL 9.

4.4.3 Domain of agreement

According to Corbett (2006:54), there are four broad domains of agreement: (1) within the noun phrase; (2) beyond the noun phrase but within the clause; (3) beyond the clause but within the sentence; and (4) domains that extend beyond the sentence. In my account of Sekpele, I will narrow my consideration to the three domains suggested by

Bloomfield (1933:191): NP head-modifier (modifier concord); predicate-argument; and anaphoric (referential concord) domains. Modifier concord occurs when various constituents of the NP show morphophonological agreement with the head noun. Referential concord (anaphoric agreement) occurs when the concordial affix denotes the referential part of the lexeme syntactically and semantically. Both types of agreement are present in Sekpelé, and are similarly found in other noun class languages. Predicate-argument agreement occurs cross-linguistically between verb morphology and relevant noun phrase arguments (controllers). It also occurs between relative and complementizer clauses and their head nouns. Sekpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain.

4.4.3.1 Modifier concord

This section discusses how agreement is realised in the NP head-modifier domain in Sekpelé. In Bantu languages, there are typically several noun classes reflected in complex agreement systems. Bantu languages have concord or agreement with all noun modifiers (and also with verbs) which are realised alliteratively. The following example is from Swahili:

- 41) **kikapu** **kikubwa** **kimoja** **kilianguka**
 basket large one fell
 ‘One large basket fell.’ (Corbett,1991;Welmers,1973)

The adjective, numeral and the verb all carry the prefix agreement marker *ki-*, as will other agreement targets outside this domain. Given a different type of noun, they would all have a different prefix. In the plural a similar situation occurs:

- 42) **vikapu** **vikubwa** **vitatu** **vilianguka**
 baskets large three fell
 ‘Three large baskets fell.’ (Corbett, 1991)

In Sekpelé, attributive adjectives do not show any concord with the head noun. Sekpelé however does show concord on modifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, demonstratives, and the numeral ‘one’. This is one characteristic that distinguishes the noun class system of some GTM languages from that of Bantu languages.

- 43) **basani** **ketsenkle** **bəmə** **bətsyuə** **əbə** **mfô**
 men tall the some PFV:come here
 ‘Some of the tall men came here’

Sekpelé shows agreement between the head noun and the definite article. This is shown in examples 44 and 45.

- 44) **ò-sàní** **é-mé**
 NCL1-man CL1-DEF
 N DET
 ‘The man’
- 45) **bà-sàní** **bé-mé**
 NCL2-man CL2-DEF
 N DET
 ‘The men’

Sekpelé also shows agreement between the head noun and the distal as well as the proximal demonstratives. These are shown in examples 46 and 47, 48 and 49 respectively:

- 46) kù-fúó kó-mfó
 NCL7-car CL7-DIST
 N DEM
 ‘That car’
- 47) é-fúó á-mfó
 NCL8-car CL8-DIST
 N DEM
 ‘Those cars’
- 48) sè-lé síá-mfô
 NCL11-language CL11-PROX
 N DEM
 ‘This language’
- 49) bè-lé bíá-mfô
 NCL12-language CL12-PROX
 N DEM
 ‘These languages’

There is also agreement between the head noun and the indefinite article. This is shown in:

- 50) lè-sá dí-tsyúá
 NCL5-thing CL5-INDEF
 N INDEF
 ‘something’
- 51) à-sá á-tsyúá
 NCL6-thing CL6-INDEF
 N INDEF
 ‘some things’
- 52) ò-fiàmé á-tsyúá
 NCL3-handkerchief CL3-INDEF
 N INDEF
 ‘a certain handkerchief’

- 53) kà-fiàmé kó-tsyúó
 NCL4-handkerchief CL4-INDEF
 N INDEF
 ‘some handkerchiefs’

Sekpelé also shows agreement between the head noun and the numeral ‘one’. This is shown in:

- 54) u-tidi ɔ-ní
 NCL1-person CL1-one
 N NUM
 ‘One person’
- 55) be-tidi ba-ní
 NCL2-person CL2-one
 N NUM
 ‘One people’
- 56) ka-lebe ka-ní
 NCL9-place CL9-one
 N NUM
 ‘One place’
- 57) n-lebe bɔ-ní
 NCL10-place CL10-one
 N NUM
 ‘One place’

As it stands, the data above shows that the numeral ‘one’ agrees with the head noun. Cross-linguistically, agreement involving cardinal numerals is often restricted to lower numerals (Corbett, 2006:42). The use of the numeral ‘one’ with plural nouns in Sekpelé has a collective interpretation as in example 55 or has a similarity relation as in example

57. Example 56 means a specific place or location while example 57 means similar places or locations.

The agreement structures that exist between the noun and members of agreement type I are summarised in Table 4.15:

AGREEMENT TYPE I	
NCL1/2	CL1/2
NCL3/4	CL3/4
NCL5/6	CL5/6
NCL7/8	CL7/8
NCL9/10	CL9/10
NCL11/12	CL11/12

Table 4.15 Noun-Modifier Agreement

4.4.3.2 Referential concord

Referential concord refers to agreement that exists between a noun and an anaphoric element within a syntactic domain. All the modifier words outlined earlier in Table 4.14, with the exception of the definite article, are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns. It is important to note that each determiner corresponds with the appropriate class of the noun phrase it refers to. This can be shown in the comparative constructions as follows:

- 58) **situ siəmfô aleke so siəmfô**
- | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|------|-----------|
| sí-tù | síô-mfô | à-lékè | só | síô-mfô |
| NCL11-metal | CL11-DIST | PFV-good | COMP | CL11-PROX |
| N | DEM | V | | DEM |
- ‘That metal is better than this one’

59) **basani bamfó aleke so bamfó**

bà-sàní	bá-mfó	à-lékè	só	bá-mfó
NCL2-man	CL2-DIST	PFV-good	COMP	CL2-PROX
N	DEM	V		DEM
‘Those men are better than these ones’				

The data above show the Sèkpele comparative construction which involves comparing two nouns belonging to the same class. In each construction, although the noun representing the standard of comparison is absent in the second element being compared, the relevant modifier functions pronominally and has an appropriate noun class prefix that corresponds to the noun class of its antecedent. Thus, in example 58, the pronoun represents a noun in NCL11 while that of example 59 represents a noun in NCL2.

The indefinite modifier *tsyua* ‘INDEF’ can also occur alone in a sentence as an anaphor, bearing the same class marker as the noun being referred to. This is illustrated in Table 4.16 which involves an event with different themes:

Subject/Agent	Verb/Predicate	Object/Theme
Kofi	aso	ù-tsyua
		bè-tsyua
		è-tsyua
		kè-tsyua
		dì-tsyua
		bù-tsyua
		si-tsyua
		bi-tsyua

Table 4.16: ‘Kofi hit somebody or something’

The above data illustrate that the English sentence ‘*Kofi hit somebody or something*’ corresponds to eight different sentences in Sèkpele since the pronoun representing the theme varies depending on the class of the noun being referred to.

Apart from the Type I modifiers, third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or as anaphors. In Sekpélé, subject pronouns are cliticised to verb stems as proclitics while object pronouns are free forms. Table 4.17 shows the various forms of the third person pronouns and the noun class they correspond to:

Antecedent	Nominative Anaphor		Accusative Anaphor	
	Singular Proclitic	Plural Proclitic	Singular	Plural
NCL1/2	o = /ɔ = /u =	ba = /be = /bə =	wə	mə
NCL3/4	e = /ɛ = /i =	ka = /ke = /kə =	nyá	ké
NCL5/6	le = /lɛ = /di =	a = /e = /ə =	ní	mí
NCL7/8	ko = /kɔ = /ku =	a = /e = /ə =	kó	mí
NCL9/10	ka = /ke = /kə =	bo = /bɔ = /bu =	ké	nyá
NCL11/12	se = /sɛ = /si =	be = /bɛ = /bi =	sé	bé

Table 4.17: The third person pronoun anaphors

The third person anaphors in the above table can be seen in these examples:

- 60) **osani** **əmə** **le** **bufi** **gake** **usu**
ò- *sàní á- mó lé bò- fĩ gàké ó = sù
NCL1 man **CL1** the hold NMLZ become sick but **3SG.NOM.PST =** go
keyifo
kà- *yífó
NCL9 work
‘The man is sick but he has gone to work’ (Agreement_egs 1.1)

- 61) **basani** **bəmə** **le** **bufi** **gake** **besu**
bà- *sàní **bá-** mó lé bò- fĩ gàké bá = sù
NCL2 man **CL2** the hold NMLZ become sick but **3PL.NOM.PST =** go
keyifo
kà- *yífó
NCL9 work
‘The men are sick but they have gone to work’ (Agreement_egs 2.1)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 62) | ɔpunu | əmə | əfəsə | eyee itə | lə | lekple |
| | ð- | *pùnú | á- | mó à- | fásó | éyèé è= |
| | NCL3 | table | CL3 | the PFV | break and | 3SG.NOM= |
| | ‘The table is broken and it is outside’ | | | | | be.at LOC outside |
| | | | | | | (Agreement_egs 3.1) |
| 63) | kapunu | kəmə | əfəsə | eyee katə | lə | lekple |
| | kà- | *pùnú | ká- | mó à- | fásó | éyèé kà= |
| | NCL4 | table | CL4 | the PFV | break and | CL4.NOM= |
| | ‘The tables are broken and they are outside’ | | | | | be.at LOC outside |
| | | | | | | (Agreement_egs 4.1) |

Sekpele has an animacy distinction in the third person. Animates by default belong to class 1/2 while inanimates fall into class 3/4 by default. This is due to the fact that inanimates borrowed into the language are attached with class 3/4 prefix if they could and take class 3/4 agreement. Examples (60) and (61) represent class 1 and 2 respectively. They show that both the antecedent noun and its anaphor in each case have the same morphological structure and can be said to agree in class and number. While example (50) contains a singular antecedent, example (61) has a plural antecedent. Since it is obvious that the anaphors in both examples share the same class with their antecedents, they are not necessarily glossed for class. Example (62) and (63) also illustrate a situation where the antecedent noun and its anaphor belong to class 3/4. These show that each noun class has a unique anaphor it co-occurs in agreement with. The anaphor in example (63) is glossed as class 4 in agreement to its antecedent (see Table 4.17).

In certain possessive existential constructions, we find a possessed noun ‘own’ which takes a noun class prefix in agreement with the class of the subject antecedent in the same clause. This is illustrated in:

- 64) **bikə** **biəmə** **eyifo** **mə** **bele**
bè- *kə **bí-** mǎ à- yífó mǎ = **bé-** *lè
NCL12 luggage **CL12** the PFV do 1SG.POSS = **NCL12** own
‘The luggages are mine’ (Agreement_egs 12.1)
- 65) **situ** **siəmə** **eyifo** **mə** **sele**
sé- *tù **sí-** mǎ à- yífó mǎ = **sé-** *lè
NCL11 metal **CL11** the PFV do 1SG.POSS = **NCL11** own
‘The metal is mine’ (Agreement_egs 13.1)
- 66) **awu** **ku** **afɔkpa** **əmfo** **eyifo** **mə** **ale**
àwù kú à- *fɔkpá á- mfó à- yífó mǎ = á- *lè
clothing and **NCL6** footwear **CL6** that PFV do 1SG.POSS = **NCL6** own
‘The dress and that footwear are mine’ (Agreement_egs 11.1)

In examples (64), (66) and (66), the word corresponding to the English ‘mine’ changes morphologically to agree with its antecedent noun.

4.4.4 Concord for mass and abstract nouns

In sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3, I showed how agreement exists between count nouns, their modifiers and anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also have agreement with their modifiers and anaphors. Each noun triggers a prefix on the modifier word or pronoun that corresponds to its first syllable alliteratively (except that initial nasal + stop clusters are replaced by /bo/). The resulting forms are subject to vowel harmony. Table 4.18 below contains examples of some nouns from the three groups of abstract and mass nouns with their relevant combinations with the definite article to form a noun phrase:

Noun phrase	English Gloss
əsúá ómá	the body
bènàké bíámá	the inheritance
kùkpènsé kómá	the hunger
kófè kómá	the sun
kòfàndè kómá	the moon
ntùfá bómá	the saliva
sítá síámá	the soil/dust
m̀bí bómá	the faeces
kàsô kámá	the earth
ùfièbí ámá	the air/wind
kòbé kómá	the knowledge/wisdom
ítù bómá	the water
əsuálé ámá	the strength
lèkpò náámá	the sea

Table 4.18: Concord in Mass and Abstract nouns

Table 4.18 above is a representation of the various nouns and their respective definite articles. This phenomenon is not limited to the definite article or other modifiers but is also applicable to all anaphoric elements. This is illustrated in:

- 67) **wə atabi əmə tə lə diyo , itə lə**
 wá à-tábí á- ḿá t́á ĺá lè- *yó è= t́á ĺá
 3SG.POSS NCL6-money CL6 the be.at LOC NCL5 house 3SG.NOM= be.at LOC
ɔpunu əmə əsuə
 ò- *pònú á- ḿá əsúá
 NCL3 table CL3 the top of
 ‘His/her money is in the room. It is on the table’ (Agreement_egs 5.1)

- 68) **kofe komə lə bofa eyee kutə buə**
 kó- *fè kó- ḿá lé b̀- fá éyèé kó= t́á búó
 NCL7 sun CL7 the hold NMLZ shine and CL7.NOM.PST= cause 1PL.POSS
awu ətsyua akwe
 à-wù à- tsyúá à- kwé
 NCL6-clothing CL6 some PFV become dry
 ‘The sun is shining and it has caused some of our clothes to dry’ (Agreement_egs 6.1)

In example (67), the default anaphoric pronoun (class 3) has been employed in the second sentence showing that, although the antecedent noun *àtábí* ‘money’ and its modifier are of class 6. In contrast, example (68) shows a verb prefix anaphoric pronoun marked as class 7, apparently triggered by the noun *kófè* ‘sun’ and its modifier.

4.5 Noun derivations

Noun derivation is a morphological process employed to create new nouns either from noun stems, other lexical forms such as verbs and adjectives, or both. This process of deriving nouns is also referred to as nominalization and there are several such processes employed in Sekpelé which include affixation, compounding and reduplication.

4.5.1 Noun derivation by affixation

Noun derivation by affixation is a process whereby noun derivational affixes are attached to lexical stems such as verbs and adjectives to derive nouns. In Sekpelé, the prefix /bò-/ is attached to action verbs to derive gerunds. These gerunds are used syntactically in the present progressive construction. Its syntactic representation is discussed in §7.2.2.1.1 however the examples below show some derived forms¹⁵:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 69) a) <i>bù-dí</i>
NMLZ-eat
‘act of eating’ | b) <i>bò-ká</i>
NMLZ-drive
‘act of driving’ |
| c) <i>bù-dú</i>
NMLZ-leave
‘act of leaving’ | d) <i>bò-té</i>
NMLZ-teach
‘act of teaching’ |

¹⁵ I refer to these as the class of derived nouns (see §4.3.4 and table 4.11).

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| e) b̀̀-t̀̀ | f) b̀̀-yé |
| NMLZ-ask | NMLZ-walk |
| ‘act of asking’ | ‘act of walking’ |

One should note that although nominalization involving /bo-/ has grammaticalized in nouns, the same can not be said of the infinitive /ka-/. The process involving /bo-/ is a gerund while that of /ka-/ is a participle. Nouns can also be derived from adjectives by attaching the personalizer suffix [-le] and the NCL1 prefix /o-/. This can be shown in the examples below.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 70) a) ó-kèkè-lè | b) ù-nìnó-lè |
| NCL1-small-PNLZ | NCL1-elder-PNLZ |
| ‘small one’ | ‘elderly one’ |
| c) ò-sià-lè | d) ó-kplè-lè |
| NCL1-fair-PNLZ | NCL1-big-PNLZ |
| ‘fair one’ | ‘big one’ |
| e) ò-nâ-lè ¹⁶ | |
| NCL1-dark-PNLZ | |
| ‘dark one’ | |

The prefix in the above is NCL1 therefore the derived nouns are placed in class 1. Section 9.3.4.2 also discusses how derived noun-like adjectives are formed.

Different class markers can be attached to a noun stem to derive nouns of varying meanings. This is illustrated in:

¹⁶ Nickname for the police.

71) ò-mánkràdò ¹⁷ ‘NCL1 King maker/landlord’	sè-mánkràdò ‘NCL11 King making’
ó-kánkplê ‘NCL1 King’	sé-kánkplê ‘NCL11 Paramountcy’
ò-flô ‘NCL1 lazy person’	sè-flô ‘NCL11 laziness’
ú-kpó ‘NCL1 hunter, warrior’	sí-kpó ‘NCL11 hunting’
kò-fã ‘NCL7 medicine’	sè-fã ‘NCL11 herb’
ó-lè ‘NCL3 branch’	ká-lè ‘NCL9 clan’
ń-tù ‘NCL10 water’	ké-tù ‘NCL4 river, stream’
ò-sànî ‘NCL1 man’	kèsànî ‘NCL9 manhood/penis’
ú-yù ‘NCL1 thief’	kú-yù ‘NCL7 theft’
ú-siè ‘NCL1 wife’ (person)	kú-siè ‘NCL7 wife’ (institution)
kò-bé ‘NCL7 palmtree’	à-bé ‘NCL8 palmfruit’
sè-bé ‘NCL11 palm chaff’	bè-bé ‘NCL12 palm kernel’
kò-diànî ‘NCL7 right hand’	sè-diànî ‘NCL11 right side’
kù-mènî ‘NCL7 left hand’	sì-mènî ‘NCL11 left side’
ù-tídì ‘NCL1 person, human’	lè-diànî ‘NCL5 east’
ó-ká ‘NCL1 chief’	di-mènî ‘NCL5 west’
ó-kántô ¹⁸ ‘NCL1 stool father’	bé-tídì ‘NCL2 people’
sé-kántô ‘NCL11 stool fatherhood’	sì-tídì ‘NCL11 crowd’
	bá-ká ‘NCL2 chiefs’
	sé-ká ‘NCL11 chieftancy’

The above data show that each set in a row, has the same root or stem but takes different class markers which influence the meaning of the output noun. For instance, NCL1 has an animacy or human meaning while NCL11 has the meaning of institution or position. Class makers can be used to show a part-whole relation. For instance, when the root bé ‘palm’ takes the NCL7 marker, the resultant meaning is the entire *‘palm tree’*; when it takes the NCL8 marker, the resultant meaning is *‘palm fruit’*; when it takes the NCL11 marker, the resultant meaning is *‘palm chaff’*; and when it takes the NCL12 marker, it means *‘palm kernel’*.

¹⁷ An Òmánkràdò is the custodian of the land therefore the ‘landlord’. He is also responsible for enthroning a chief therefore a ‘kingmaker’

¹⁸ An Ókántô is a custodian of the stool/throne which a chief is related to. Chiefs get their chieftaincy names from a particular stool. Ókántô literally mean ‘father of a chief’.

4.5.2 Compounding

Compounding is a productive process of forming derived nominals. There are two basic distinct types of compounds: primary and synthetic compounds, or in other words, compounds with or without juxtaposed roots. Primary compounds are composed of right-headed binominals with a NCL-N-N structure (see Benczes 2006:29; and Carstairs-McCarthy 2002:61). Compounds of this nature are referred to as endocentric compounds (Booij 2007, 2009; Kortmann 2005; Plag 2003; Spencer 1991). The second element is the head of the construction and determines the noun class of the compound. If the two noun stems belong to different classes, then the first noun forfeits its prefix while the second noun prefix is retained as the compound prefix. This is illustrated in:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 72) | ù-kùsé
NCL1-fowl | + | lè-fó
NCL5-egg | → | di-kùséfó
NCL5-chicken egg |
| 73) | kà-mò
NCL4-rice | + | di-kplibi
NCL5-pot | → | lè-mòkplibi
NCL5-rice pot |
| 74) | kò-bé
NCL7-palm | + | kú-tù
NCL7-soup | → | kòbétù
NCL7-palmsoup |
| 75) | o-kwai
NCL3-soap | + | sè-bó
NCL11-towel | → | sè-kwaibó
NCL11-toiletry |

Although the above illustration is the norm for forming binominal compounds, sometimes elements of a compound can be represented in a sequence without any alterations, as in:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---|----------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 76) a) | kà-kwé
NCL9-spider | + | ɲ-fia
NCL10-cloth | → | kàkwɛɲfia
spider-web |
|--------|-----------------------|---|----------------------|---|-------------------------|

b)	kà-kwé	+	ɲ-fia	→	ɲ-kwɛɲfia
	NCL9-spider		NCL10-cloth		NCL10-spider-webs
77) a)	kà-bé	+	ń-tè	→	*kàbénté
	NCL7-palm		NCL10-wine		palmwine
b)	kà-bé	+	ń-tè	→	m-bénté
	NCL7-palm		NCL10-wine		NCL10-palmwine

Examples (76a) and (77a) illustrate compounds represented as a sequence of nouns while examples (76b) and (77b) conform to the normal compound formation. Example (76b) can also be said to be the plural form of (76a). Example (77b) is the norm since palmwine is a liquid. However, example (77a) is used in rare circumstances. The nasal element linking the compound is probably the stem extension or ligature (see eg. 80-82 below).

In synthetic compounds, the head of the compound is a deverbal noun and the other constituent is the argument of the verb. Synthetic compounds are actually a representation of nominalized verb phrases involving collocated verbs and nouns. Sekpelé forms synthetic compounds by attaching a noun class prefix /o-/ to a collocated verb phrase. The compound is assigned to NCL1 if the noun is animate, as in example (78), or assigned to NCL3 if the noun is inanimate, as in example (79):

- 78) ò-tè-ásá
NCL1-teach-thing
'teacher'
- 79) ò-flò-sà
NCL3-wash-thing
'sponge'

In some situations, the order of the verb phrase could be reversed into an N-V compound with a noun class prefix and a stem extension or ligature between the stems.

80) ð-kwé-n-fó
NCL1-farm-LIG-cultivate
'farmer'

81) ù-kpó-n-tá
NCL1-hunt-LIG-play
'hunter'

82) ù-fuo-n-ká
NCL1-car-LIG-drive
'driver'

4.5.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is another noun derivation method employed in Sekpelé. In most languages, especially those of West Africa, nominals may be derived either by full or partial reduplication of other lexical categorises. Sekpelé may possibly have several derived nominals by reduplication, which may be discovered through comprehensive work on the topic. However one such form is a compound involving a noun and a reduplicated verb. These derived nominals are abstract in nature and may be assigned to the abstract class of nouns.

83) à-sà-té-té
NCL6-thing-teach-REDUP
'teaching'

84) ð-kwé-fó-fó
NCL3-farm-cultivate-REDUP
'farming'

- 85) si-kpà-tá-tá
 NCL11-hunt-play-REDUP
 ‘hunting’

4.6 Summary

In summary, Sekpelé is a language that has twelve noun classes, based on the analysis of the above data set. Nouns in Sekpele can be divided into count and non-count nouns. Count nouns consist of singular-plural pairs, while non-count nouns are unpaired. Non-count nouns include single unit entities, mass nouns, abstract nouns and derived nouns. Sekpelé also has two sets of agreement class systems – one for determiners such as the definite article and demonstratives and the other for the indefinite article, the numeral ‘one’ and pronouns. Each noun class obligatorily selects an appropriate modifier from its corresponding agreement class which occurs in agreement alliteratively. The class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. Stems in isolation are bound forms which require a prefix to be attached to them. This makes the class system productive because different types of prefixes could be attached to a particular stem to produce different words.

There are two domains of concord or agreement in Sekpelé: modifier concord and referential concord. Sekpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain. Modifier concord applies to noun modifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, and demonstratives: attributive adjectives and intensifiers do not show any agreement with the head noun. This is one characteristic that distinguishes GTM languages from Bantu languages although they are both class languages. Most Bantu

languages have concord agreement with all noun modifiers and even verbs. All modifiers with the exception of the definite article are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns and each modifier corresponds with the appropriate noun class referred to. Apart from the modifiers, the third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also show agreement with their modifiers and anaphors. The choice of concord modifiers and anaphors is based on the structure of each noun. Each noun chooses a modifier word or pronoun that corresponds to its first syllable alliteratively.

Finally, Sekpelé employs affixation, compounding and reduplication in its noun derivation processes.

5 NOUN PHRASES

This chapter discusses the types and structures of noun phrases in Sekpele. A noun phrase in Sekpele consists minimally of a head nominal. The obligatory head nominal may be a common noun, a pronoun or a proper name. A noun phrase may include nominal modifiers which modify the head nominal. The noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and all modifiers follow the head; it can also be complex, involving conjoined or complex elements. This chapter is divided into four sections: section 5.1 discusses simple noun phrases; section 5.2 discusses complex noun phrases; section 5.3 discusses conjoined noun phrases and section 5.4 discusses noun phrases in adpositional phrases.

5.1 Simple noun phrases

A simple noun phrase consists of a nominal head and its (optional) modifiers. The structure of a simple noun phrase in Sekpele is illustrated in Table 5.1, where the head is obligatory and the modifiers are optional. Modifiers include qualifiers, numerals, determiners and intensifiers. The numeral ‘one’, the definite article, the indefinite article and the basic demonstratives (proximal and distal see § 5.1.1.3.3), show agreement with the head of the NP (see §4.4). Qualifiers, intensifiers and other numerals do not show any agreement with the head.

Head	Modifiers (optional)			
Common noun	Qualifiers (Adjectives)	Numerals	Determiners- Articles and Demonstratives	Intensifiers
Proper noun				
Pronoun				

Table 5.1: Structure of the simple noun phrase in Sekpele

Simple noun phrases are illustrated in examples (86)-(90). Example (86) illustrates the maximum structure of the noun phrase which consists of a noun, an adjective, a numeral, a determiner and an intensifier.

- 86) **osani kple ɔnɪ ɛmfó kplɔŋ dɪbɛ**
 ò- *sàní kplê ò- *ní á- mfó kplónj lè= bɔ́
 NCL1 man big CL1 one CL1 that only REL= come
 ‘Only that one big man came’ (Miscellaneous 102.1)

Example 87 consists of all the elements except for a numeral:

- 87) **ɛnni lekpome kple kutsyuə saa dini** ;
 è= n- ní lè- *kpòmé kplê kó- tsyúá sàà lè= ní
 3SG.NOM= NEG be NCL5 stool big CL7 some each CL5.NOM= be
lekpome keke mə te dini .
 lè- *kpòmé kèkè mə tè lè= ní
 NCL5 stool small like this only CL5.NOM= be
 ‘It isn’t any big stool; it is only a small stool like this’ (King_making 2.35)

It is possible to have two or more intensifiers in the NP, as in example (88):

- 88) **kofa lɔlɔlɔ kola tsya beyu ɛmbə** .
 kòfá lɔlɔlɔ kólá tsyâ ba- *yù à- n- bɔ́
 month whole even too NCL2 thief SCR NEG exist
 ‘Even for a whole month too, there were no thieves’ (Good_old_days 9.3)

The NP can also be a proper noun or a pronoun which can be modified. Example 89 has two NPs, one is a pronoun modified with an intensifier and the other is a proper noun standing alone:

- 89) **alebe wɔ̌ lɛyenko məmə tsya**
 álébé wɔ̌ lè= yé -n- -kó **mámá tsyâ**
 however 3SG.REL.PRO REL= walk LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC too
ooboko ni Katsyankla .
 ó= ò- bókó ní **Katsyankla**
 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT bring be **Katsyankla**
 ‘However, the one who led them too was Katsyankla’ (History_amankrado 1.16)

5.1.1 Nominal modifiers

This section discusses nominal modifiers in depth, including qualifiers, numerals, determiners and intensifiers.

5.1.1.1 Qualifiers (adjectives)

Qualifiers can be described using the traditional term ‘adjective’. There are two senses in which linguists use the term adjective (Dryer, 2007:168). In the first sense, it is used semantically to denote a set of words on the basis of their meaning, regardless of their grammatical properties in particular languages. In the second sense, it is used as a label for a word class in a particular language defined by grammatical characteristics which distinguish it from other word classes in that language. I employ the first sense due to the fact that in Sèkpele, some property notions behave syntactically like verbs, others like nouns, and others like ideophones. Cross-linguistically, adjectives play three syntactic roles that distinguish them as a major word class from nouns and verbs. They can function as a predicate in a clause, modifiers in NPs and as the parameter of comparison.

The criteria for distinguishing adjectives as a class from other word classes differ from language to language. In some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, in some to verbs, in some to nouns and verbs, and in some to neither (Dixon, 2004). Adjectives which have grammatical properties like nouns are noun-like adjectives while those similar to verbs are verb-like adjectives (Blöhdorn 2009; Huddleston 1984). There are four classes of adjectives in Sèkpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Details of the adjective classes are provided in the section on

predicate adjectives (see §9.3). A wordlist of adjectives is also provided in Appendix 3.

To avoid duplication, I will only focus on adjectives within the noun phrase. When adjectives occur in NPs, they either directly follow the noun they modify or they undergo a process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives, reduplicated verbs and verb-like adjectives derived with the adjectival suffix *-a* immediately follow the noun head. This is illustrated in:

- 90) **uku** **dibiə** **tɛnkle** **ditsyuə**
 ó = kù lè- *bɛ̀ tɛ̀ŋklé lé- tsyúá
 3SG.NOM.PST = dig NCL5 hole shallow CL5 INDEF
 ‘He dug a shallow hole’ (Adjectives 98.1)
- 91) **udi** **diyibibi** **yuəyuə nəmə**
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbí yúà̀yúà̀ nǎ- má
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit soft CL5 the
 ‘He ate the soft fruit’ (Adjectives 77.1)
- 92) **kukuə** **flubia** **komə** **təkə** **lə** **ɔpunu** **əmə**
 kò- *kúá flúbì -à kó- má táká là ó- *pǔnú á- má
 NCL7 book become white ADJV CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the
əsua
 ə̀súà
 top of
 ‘The white book is on the table’ (Adjectives 7.1)

Example 90 includes an ideophonic adjective, example 91 has an adjective derived from a reduplicated verb, while example 92 shows a verb-like adjective (see § 9.3.1). Alternatively, verb-like adjectives, noun-like adjectives, and other derived adjectives, can only occur in the noun phrase through the process of relativization (see § 5.2.2 and § 10.4). This is illustrated in:

- 93) **ɔpunu** **ǎ** **lɛmɔ** **əmɔ**
 ò- *pònú ǎ lè= mǎ á- má
 NCL3 table CL3.REL.PRO REL= become big CL3 the
 ‘The table which is big’ (Adjectives 32.1)
- 94) **ola** **kuyi** **kuǎ** **dikulɔ**
 ó= là kò- *yí kuǎ lè= kúlá
 3SG.NOM.PST= cut NCL7 tree CL7.REL.PRO REL= become tall
 ‘He cut a tree which is tall’ (Adjectives 18.1)
- 95) **utsyi** **bitsyikɔ** **biǎ** **nkpe** **kalende**
 ò= tsyí bi-tsyiká biǎ ñ= kpé kàlèndé
 3SG.NOM= carry NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL= have heavy
 ‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)

Examples 93, 94 and 95 show noun modifiers involving relativization. Examples 93 and 94 show verb-like adjectives while example 95 has a noun-like adjective. In 95, the adjective is the complement of the possessive verb *kpé* ‘have’ (see §9.7.1.1). An overview of relative pronouns is provided in §6.5.

5.1.1.2 Numerals

This section discusses numerals in Sekpele. There are two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal (Crystal 2011:65; Hurford 1994:23). Numerals occur after the adjective (if any) and before the determiner (if any) in a noun phrase. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system (see Appendix 4). Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers as shown in § 5.1.1.2.2. Numbers used in counting are quite distinct from cardinal numbers as shown in §5.1.1.2.1. The number one is distinct for all three number forms: *nùé* for counting, *(CM)-ní* for cardinal, and *tùtá* for ordinal.

5.1.1.2.1 Cardinal numbers

The counting forms of cardinal numbers are different from the form they take in attributive function. In the counting form, the words for one, eight and nine are *nùé*, *yèní*, *nàsé* respectively while that of cardinal forms are *ní*, *mámflá* and *nwónómbó* (see table 5.2 and Appendix 4).

Number	Counting numbers	Cardinal numbers	Ordinal numbers
1	nùé (lèwé)	lóní, òní, kóní, sòní, kàní, àní, bàní	tùtá, dí-tùtá, litùtá
2	núè	ìnúè	ìnúè-fè
3	hìtsyá	ìtsyá	ìtsyá-fè
4	ínà	énà	énà-lè
5	hìnó	ànó	ànó-lè
6	hìkùá	èkùá	èkùá-lè
7	kùánsè	àkùánsè	àkùánsè-lè
8	yèní	mámflá	mámflá-lè
9	nàsé	nwónómbó	nwónómbó-lè
10	lèfòsì	lèfòsì	lèfòsì-lè
Last			fèfè

Table 5.2: Numeral system up to ten

Table 5.2 shows that the numeral ‘one’ has varied form linked to various classes. The numerals ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’ and ‘six’ belong to class 3; ‘five’ and ‘seven’ belong to class 6/8; ‘eight’ and ‘nine’ belong to class 10; ‘ten’ belong to class 5 and multiples of ten such as 20, 30 and 40 are of class 6. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and it is prefixed with a class marker. This is illustrated in (see also §4.4.3):

- 96) **bòter** **nkə lələ** **lonr** **nə** , [1928 , 29].
 bò = ó- tẹ́yí nkə lè- *lẹ́ lè- *ní nó
 1PL.NOM = FUT say that NCL5 year CL5 one really
 ‘We will say that it is one year really, 1928/29’ (History_amankrado 15.10)

- 97) **bəntəkə** **utidi** **ɔnɪ** **bəə** **fə**
 bà = n- tóká ò- *tídi ò- *ní báà fā
 3PL.NOM = NEG put on NCL1 person CL1 one 3PL.COMP 2SG.PN
bəbə **seka** **butsyə**
 bà = bá sé- *ká bó- tsyà
 3PL.NOM = come NCL11 chief NMLZ put
 ‘They don’t appoint one person that you they will install as chief’ (King_making 2.17)
- 98) **lə** **koto** **kɔnɪ** **ələ** **wə** **lee**
 lá kò- *tó kò- *ní á- là wə léé
 if NCL7 ear CL7 one HAB worry 3SG.ACC or
uuti **ato** **la** , **bəmbə**
 ó = ò- tí à- *tó lá bà = n- bá
 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT close NCL6 ear TOP 3PL.NOM = NEG come
wə **bofo** .
 wə bó- fō
 3SG.ACC NMLZ accept
 ‘If one ear worries him or he is deaf, they won’t accept him’ (King_making 2.22)
- 99) **wə** **bəsiə** **inuə** **bəmə** **kpe** **lə** **kalebe** **kanɪ**
 wə bá- *síà è- *núà bá- má kpé lá kà- *lèbé kà- *ní
 3SG.POSS NCL2 wife CL3 two CL2 the exist LOC NCL9 place CL9 one
 ‘His two wives live together’ (Verbs 395.1)

Example 96 shows agreement with a class 5 head while example 97 shows class 1 agreement; note that class 3 shares the same form as class 1. Example 98 illustrates class 7 while example 99 shows class 9. Other numbers do not show any agreement with the head noun as illustrated in:

- 100) **buunyə** **fenkə** **betidi** **inuə** **lee** **itsyə** .
 bə = ó- nyà fē níkà ba- *tídi è- *núà léé è- *tsyá
 3PL.NOM = FUT find like that NCL2 person CL3 two or CL3 three
 ‘They will find two or three people like that’ (King_making 2.18)

- 101) **ntsya mɔɔye nle bebi ekua** [by
 n̄tsyá mò= ó- yé ñ= lé **bè- *bí è-kùá**
 how 1SG.NOM= FUT walk 1SG.NOM= give birth **NCL2 child CL3-six**
this time]
 ‘How is it possible to give birth to six children by this time?’ (Pottery 292.1)

- 102) **lɛ abaka ɛtsyɛ , yuutsya**
 lɛ á= báká à= tsyà =à yò= ó- tsyà
 if 2SG.NOM.PST stir 2SG.NOM put =TOP 3SG.NOM= FUT stay
fenkə eyi ekua lee akuanse nyafěě
 fě níkà á- *yì è-kùá léé à-kùánsè nyáfěě
 like that **NCL6 full day CL3-six** or **CL6-seven** then
eeyo budi nə
 é= à- yó bo- dí nó
 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV reach NMLZ eat really
 ‘If you stir and keep it, it will stay for say six or seven days then it is ready to be eaten’
 (Ofo 3.3)

Examples 100 and 101 have a noun belonging to class 2; however the numerals that modify it belong to class 3 and does not show agreement with it. More evidence for the fact that other numerals with the exception of the number ‘one’, do not show any agreement is provided when we compare example 101 to example 102. They have nouns belonging to class 2 and class 6 respectively but the numerals that modify them are of class 3. Cardinal numbers which function as heads are prefixed with the class marker of the noun they replace or refer to. This is illustrated in:

- 103) **lɛ busə fəɛbɛ la , kukuə , nyə**
 lɛ bó- sà fā= á- bá lá kó- *kùð nyə
 if NMLZ fry 2SG.NOM= PROSP come TOP **NCL7 grinding stone** see
kɔnɪ ntə mə .
kò- *ní ñ= tɔ́ mɔ́
NCL7 one REL= be.at there
 ‘If you want to fry it, then grinding stone, see one over there’ (Good_old_days 13.3)

- 104) **Kalɛlɛnti** **kǎ** **bɔɛ** **bokpadi** **mə** **nə** ; **məmə** **ku**
 kálɛlɛntí kǎ bò= lé bo- kpádí má ná mómá kú
 central clan CL9.DEF 1PL.NOM= hold NMLZ call like this really 3PL.PN and
 ... **məmə** **ni** **banɪ** .
 mómá ní bà- *ní
 3PL.PN be CL2 one
 ‘The central clan we are calling like this really; they and ... they are one’
 (History_amankrado 15.11)

- 105) **lə** **bale** **fə** **kɔɛ** **sinuə** **fanno**
 lá bá= lé fə kòlé sè- *núà fā= n- nò
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= hold 2SG.ACC advice CL11 two 2SG.NOM= NEG hear
la , **buutu** **fə** **fāā** .
 lá bò= ó- tú fə fāā
 TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT depose 2SG.ACC freely
 ‘If they advise twice and you didn’t obey, they will depose you freely’ (King_making 12.10)

Examples 103 and 104 include the numeral ‘one’ but they are of class 7 and 2 respectively. Example 105 has the numeral ‘two’ which is of class 11. The number ‘two’ does not take a class marker if it functions as a modifier. In this case, it takes a class marker because it is functioning as a head.

Cardinal numbers can also occur with pronouns in possessive constructions where the pronoun is usually an emphatic pronoun or a demonstrative (see also pronominal possessors in §5.2.1.2). This is illustrated in:

- 106) **nya** **lonɪ** **te** **mimfi**
nyá **lò-** ***ní** **tè** **mì=** **n-** **ǃ**
 3SG.PN CL5 one only 1SG.NOM= EMPH take
 ‘It is only one of it I took’ (Miscellaneous 50.1)
- 107) **bǎ** **inuə** **to** **nti** **ini** .
bǎ **è-** ***núà** **tò** **ntí** **è=** **ní**
 3PL.DEM CL3 two POSS between 3SG.NOM= be
 ‘It is between these two’ (Pottery 158.2)

- 108) **mə inuə ataka , ibu ɔni**
mə è- *núà à- tákà é= bù ò- *ní
3PL.PN CL3 two PFV rise 3SG.NOM.PST = remain CL1 one
 ‘Two of them have escaped, and one remained’ (Pottery 266.1)

5.1.1.2.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers with the exception of the terms for ‘first’ and ‘last’. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of ordinal numbers. The suffix **-fə** attaches to the numbers two and three, alone or in higher combinations such as 22, 23, 32, 33, 42, 43 etc. The suffix **-lè** on the other hand occurs elsewhere (see Table 5.2 above and Appendix 4 for details). This is illustrated in:

- 109) **əbutə wə nte tutə .**
à= bó- tá wə ntè tûtá
2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC wine first
 ‘You will give him/her first wine’ (Buying_name 2.1)
- 110) **nya ekafo diyí itsyəfə .**
nyá é= kà- fò díyì è-tsyé -fə
then 3SG.NOM.PST = PROG earn full day CL3-three ORD
 ‘Then the third day came’ (History_amankrado 3.59)
- 111) **eso lefosi utidi inuəfə wə ni wě**
ésò lè- *fósì ò- *tídi è- *núà -fə wê ní wě
therefore NCL5 ten NCL1 person CL3 two ORD 3SG.PN be 3SG.REL.PRO
nsi momo
ñ= sí mòmó
REL= dwell now
 ‘Therefore the twelfth person, he is the one who dwells now’ (History_amankrado 3.121)

- 112) **fenkə** **lekpleləkələkə** **nəmə** , **nya** **ni** **fenkə** **kase** **Yesu**
 fē níkà lè-kplèlákàlákà ná- mǎ nyá ní fē níkà kàsé Yěsù
 like that NCL5-outdooring CL5 the 3SG.PN be like that how Jesus
taflatsye **baala** **kesani** **ku** **diyi** **mflamflale** .
 tàflátsyé bá= à- là kèsànî kú díyì m-flámflá -lè
 excuse to say 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut manhood with full day CL10-eight ORD
 ‘Like the outdoor¹⁹, it is like how Jesus, excuse to say, was circumcised on the eighth day’
 (Naming_ceremony 24.1)

Example 109 has the ordinal number *tùtá* ‘first’ modifying the noun *ńtè* ‘wine’. Examples 110 and 111 have the ordinal numbers *itsyàfə* ‘third’ and *lèfòsì inúàfə* ‘twelfth’ respectively, both derived with the suffix *-fə*. Example 112 has the ordinal number *mflámflálè* ‘eighth’ derived with the suffix *-lè*.

Similarly to cardinal numbers, ordinal number can function as pronominals, as NP heads and are prefixed with the class marker of the noun they replace or refer to. This is illustrated in:

- 113) **eso** **kase** **uutsyi** **ni** **onle**
 ésò kàsé ó= ò- tsyí ní ò= n- lé
 therefore as 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT carry CL5.ACC 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold
botsylama **sĩĩ** , **ditutə** **dinuəfə** **la** ,
 bo- tsylama sĩĩ lé- *tùtá* lè- *núà -fə lá
 NMLZ roam a while CL5 first CL5 two ORD TOP
bankobe **ni** **kato** **la** , **enii** **nimble** **kenke**
 bà= n- kóbé ní kàtô lá èníí nǎ- -n- *blé kénkè
 3PL.NOM= NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP probably CL5 LIG all all
efusə .
 à- fúsə
 PFV overturn
 ‘Therefore as she carried it and roaming for a while, first, second, if they hadn't held it up,
 probably everything would have overturned’
 (Buying_name 36.1)

¹⁹ New-born babies are kept indoors until the eighth day when they are allowed to be taken outdoors. They are also officially given a name on this day.

- 114) **bookpadi** **wə** **ditutə** **bale** **wə**
 bə = ó- kpádí wə **lé-** **tùtə** bà = lé wə
 3PL.NOM = FUT call 3SG.ACC **CL5 first** 3PL.NOM = hold 3SG.ACC
kələ .
 kələ
 advice
 ‘They will call him the first time to give him some advice’ (King_making 12.1)

115) **buusi** **balə** **bakpadi** **wə**
 bə = ó- sí bà = lə bà = kpádí wə
 3PL.NOM = FUT still 3PL.NOM = repair 3PL.NOM = call 3SG.ACC
sinuəfə **bətə** **bote** **nkə**
sə- ***núə** **-fə** bà = tə bó- tè níkə
CL11 two **ORD** 3PL.NOM = give NMLZ know that
bakabebe **ubi** .
 bà = kà- bɛ́ɛ ɔ- *bí
 3PL.NOM = PROG search NCL1 child
 ‘If still he is continuing, they will still call him again a second time to give knowledge that they should be searching for a child’ (King_making 12.3)

Example 113 has the ordinal numbers *dítùtə* ‘first’ and *dínúəfə* ‘second’ which are both of class 5. Example 114 also has the ordinal number *dítùtə* ‘first’ of class 5 while example 115 has the ordinal number *sinúəfə* ‘second’ of class 11.

Sekpele has borrowed the ordinal *gbǎ* ‘first’ from Ewe and it is frequently used as an alternative to the indigenous ordinal *tùtɛ*, as illustrated in:

- 116) **eso** **kalo** **fanle** **boto** [**gbā**]?
 ésò kálò fā = n- lé bó- tò **gbá**
 therefore down 2SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ mould **first**
 ‘Therefore is it the bottom you are moulding first?’ (Pottery 30.1)

- 117) **tingbli te ni nkə lə Bala kato , Bala dikuə ini bo ku**
 tíŋkplí tè ní nkà lá Bálá kàtô Bálá ðikùá è= ní bó kú
 short only be that LOC Bala North Bala south 3SG.NOM= be 1PL.PN and
Kukurantumi eto boye la , gbā butsyi Atebubu
 Kukurantumi eto bò- yé lá gbá bó= tsyì Atebubu
 Kukurantumi POSS NMLZ walk TOP first 1PL.NOM.PST= come from Atebubu
buubə Likpeto .
 bó= ò- bó Likpeto
 1PL.NOM.PST= ANT come Likpeto
 ‘Briefly, in Bala north wing, Bala south wing, that is us and Kukurantumi's migration, first we
 came from Atebubu to settle in Likpeto’ (History_amankrado 1.3)

- 118) **itə fenkə gbā la , lə koko to nyamfoo ,**
 è= t́ fěnkà gbá lá ĺ kókó tò nyàmfõ =
 3SG.NOM= be.at assuming first TOP LOC old POSS this = TOP
itə utə̀nku , koto ko
 è= t́ òtə̀nkù ko- *tò kuǎ̃
 3SG.NOM= be.at menstrual blood NCL7 blood CL7.REL.PRO
lekpoò , bale ko buflə .
 lè= kpó = bà= ĺ kó bo- flá
 REL= pour =TOP 3PL.NOM= hold CL7.ACC NMLZ wash
 ‘It is like first of all, in the past, it is like menstrual blood, the blood which drops, they are
 washing it’ (Naming_ceremony 2.2)

5.1.1.3 Determiners

Determiners in Sə̀kpele occur after numerals (if any) and before intensifiers (if any). They include articles (definite and indefinite) and demonstratives. The possibility of combining articles and demonstratives differs from language to language. Languages such as English do not allow articles to co-occur with demonstratives and possessive pronouns. However there are many languages in which articles (especially the definite article) freely co-occur with demonstratives and possessive pronouns (Dryer 2007:161). The various types of determiners are discussed in the following section.

5.1.1.3.1 Definite articles

Definite articles are used in an NP to refer to entities that are identifiable and familiar to the participants in a discourse context (Bobuafor 2013:124). The definite article in Sekpele is represented by the root *mé*. The definite article agrees with the noun class of the noun it modifies (see §4.4.3). This is illustrated in:

- 119) *osani əmə eti siku siəmə*
 ò- *sàní á- mé à- tí sè- *kú sí- mé
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV close NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘The man closed the door’ (Verbs 90.1)
- 120) *kukuə kwankwā komə təkə lə ɔpunu əmə əsuə*
 kò- *kùs kwáńkwá kó- mé tákə lə ò- *pùnú á- mé əsúə
 NCL7 book green CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the top of
 ‘The green book is on the table’ (Adjectives 11.1)
- 121) *ɔse bisi biəmə ɔko*
 ó = sè bè- *sí bí- mé ó = kó
 3SG.NOM.PST = gather NCL12 yam CL12 the 3SG.NOM.PST = mix
 ‘He gathered the yams together’ (Verbs 110.1)

Example 119 has the definite articles *ámé* and *síémé* which are of class 1 and 11 respectively. Example 120 has the definite articles *kómé* and *émé* which are of class 7 and 3 respectively, while example 121 has the definite article *bíémé* which is of class 12. The definite articles for the classes 1, 3, 6, 8 are structurally the same. The definite article for these classes has the same form *ámé*, as illustrated in:

- 122) *osani əmə ekulə*
 ò- *sàní á- mé à- kúlə
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV become tall
 ‘The man is tall’ (Adjectives 21.1)
- 123) *ɔpunu əmə amə*
 ò- *pùnú á- mé à- mə
 NCL3 table CL3 the PFV become big
 ‘The table is big’ (Adjectives 30.1)

- 124) **ole** **ekutu** **əmə** **bole**
 ò = lé à- *kùtù á- mǎ bó- lè
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 orange CL6 the NMLZ harvest
 ‘He is harvesting the oranges’ (Verbs 99.1)
- 125) **nnuəbi** **to** **atsya** **əmə** , **beku** **ǎ** **nə**
 í- *nùəbí tò à- *tsyâ á- mǎ bèkù ǎ nǎ
 NCL10 oil POSS NCL8 palm cake NCL8 the palmtree cake CL3.DEF really
loo , **əbufi** **ətsyə** **kalesiə** .
 lóó à = bó- fí à = tsyà kàlésíà
 UFP 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM put day after tomorrow
 ‘The oil cake, the palmtree cake, you will keep for the morning’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.4)

Likewise, the definite articles for classes 4 and 9 are structurally the same. The definite article in example 126 is marked as class 4 while that of example 127 is marked as class 9.

- 126) **okla** **kamə** **kəmə** **okpo** **lə**
 ó = klá kà- *mǎ ká- mǎ ó = kpó lǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = measure NCL4 rice CL4 the 3SG.NOM.PST = pour LOC
əkpe **əsua**
 ò- *kpé əsúá
 NCL3 bowl body
 ‘He measured the rice into the bowl’ (Verbs 430.1)
- 127) **ole** **budu** **lə** **kebuto** **kəmə**
 ò = lé bǒ- dú lǎ ká- *bùtó ká- mǎ
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ leave LOC NCL9 village CL9 the
 ‘He is leaving the village’ (Verbs 457.1)

It is important to note that, the form of the class marker of the noun may be different from that of the definite article. This phenomenon applies to class 5 and 10 as illustrated in:

- 128) **oto** **lebambi** **nəmə**
 ó= **tó** **lè-** ***bà** **-n-** **-bí** **ná-** **má**
 3SG.NOM.PST = throw **NCL5** **rock** **LIG** **DIM** **CL5** **the**
 ‘He threw the stone’ (Verbs 184.1)

129) **ufi** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **utsyə** **lə**
 ó= **ǃ** **lè-** ***kplíbí** **ná-** **má** ó= **tsyə** **lá**
 3SG.NOM.PST = take **NCL5** **cooking pot** **CL5** **the** 3SG.NOM.PST = put **LOC**
dibu **nəmə** **kafo**
lé- ***bû** **ná-** **má** **kàfô**
NCL5 **hut** **CL5** **the** inside
 ‘He put the pot inside the hut’ (Locative_nouns 1.1)

130) **ntu** **bomə** **le** **butu**
ń- ***tù** **bó-** **má** **lé** **bò-** **tú**
NCL10 **water** **CL10** **the** hold **NMLZ** be boil
 ‘The water is boiling’ (Verbs 126.1)

131) **ɔlə** **mbente** **bomə** **bɔye**
 ò= **lé** **ń-** ***bèntè** **bó-** **má** **bò-** **yé**
 3SG.NOM = hold **NCL10** **palmwine** **CL10** **the** **NMLZ** filter
 ‘He is filtering the palmwine’ (Verbs 462.1)

The definite article has a clipped form which occurs in colloquial or rapid speech. The clipped form involves the class marker with its vowel nasalized. For instance, class 1, 3, 6 and 8 are represented as **ǎ**, class 2 as **bǎ**, class 4 and 9 as **kǎ**, class 5 as **nǎ**, class 7 as **kuǎ**, class 10 as **buǎ**, class 11 as **siǎ** and class 12 as **biǎ**. This is illustrated in:

Indefinite articles, unlike definite articles, are used in NPs that refer to entities that are general and whose knowledge is unspecific to the participants in a discourse context. Indefiniteness in Sekpele can be expressed in two ways: non-specific and specific. The non-specific way is to express the NP as a bare noun without an article and the specific way is to modify the noun with an indefinite marker whose root is *tsyúś* ‘a certain, some’. Just as the definite marker, the indefinite root is prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the head noun. This is illustrated in:

- 136) **eso itə fenkə kamoididi kətsyua lə**
 ésò è= t́á fè níkà kà- *m̀òìdídí ká- tsyúá ĺá
 therefore 3SG.NOM= be.at like that NCL9 oracle CL9 INDEF LOC
məmə ɔflo nə .
 ḿámá ɔ́fl̀ò ná
 3PL.POSS side really
 ‘Therefore it is like some oracle to them really’ (History_amankrado 3.53)
- 137) **ənyə ekplibi ətsyua kpee , lə**
 á= nyə à- *kplíbí á- tsyúá kpé = ĺá
 2SG.NOM.PST see NCL6 cooking pot CL6 INDEF exist = TOP if
akpo ntu ko ntu le bəbə .
 á= kpó ńtù k̀ò ńtù lé bo- bó
 2SG.NOM.PST pour water then water hold NMLZ get out
 ‘You see some cooking pots exist; if you pour water into them then water is coming out of them’ (Pottery 212.1)
- 138) **uku dibia tsyontsyo ditsyua**
 ó= k̀ù lè- *b́íà tsyóntsýó lé- tsyúá
 3SG.NOM.PST= dig NCL5 hole deep CL5 INDEF
 ‘He dug a deep hole’ (Adjectives 94.1)
- 139) **əle ntu butsyua bokpo lə**
 ò= lé ń- *t̀ù bó- tsyúá bo- kpó ĺá
 3SG.NOM= hold NCL10 water CL10 INDEF NMLZ pour LOC
kasə kəmə
 kà- *s̩ ká- ḿá
 NCL9 ground CL9 the
 ‘He is pouring some water on the ground’ (Verbs 303.1)

The indefinite articles in example 136, 137, 138 and 139 are of class 9, class 6, class 5 and class 10 respectively. The indefinite article, unlike the definite article, can be used pronominally as an NP by itself (see § 6.7). The indefinite pronouns that refer to animates belong to class 1 and class 2. This is also illustrated in:

- 140) **utsyua** **lekpe** **mi** **bole** **fěě** **fə** **mate**
 ò- **tsyúá** lè= kpé mí bo- lé fě́é fǎ màté
 NCL1 INDEF REL= request 2PL.ACC NMLZ give birth before 2SG.PN alone
nkpe **bebi** **məmə** **ekua** **akabe** **mfo** .
 ñ= kpé bē- *bí mómá àkùá à= kà- bè mǫ
 REL= have NCL12 child 3PL.PN six 2SG.NOM PROG take care of here
 ‘Did anyone ask you to give birth before you alone have six children you will be taking care of?’
 (Pottery 288.1)

- 141) **betsyua** **kola** **baanle** **ola** **ekuklubi**
 bà- **tsyúá** kólá bà= á- n- lé ólá á- *kùklúbí
 NCL2 INDEF even 3PL.NOM= HAB NEG hold care NCL6 caterpillar
ake
 á- kè
 HAB exist
 ‘Even some people don’t take good care of it such that caterpillar dwell in it’ (Pottery 206.2)

- 142) **betsyua** **saa** **ku** **məmə** **ndiko** .
 bà- **tsyúá** sàà kú mómá n- dí -kó
 NCL2 INDEF each with 3PL.POSS NCL10 inherit PLACE
 ‘Each and every one with their inheritances’ (History_amankrado 11.1)

The indefinite pronoun in example 140 is of class 1 while that of examples 141 and 142 is of class 2. Indefinite pronouns that refer to inanimates are of two forms. The first consists of the compound of the noun *lèsá* ‘thing’ and the indefinite root *tsyúá*. The second form consists of a derivation whereby the various noun class markers are prefixed to the indefinite root *tsyua*. The indefinite pronoun in example 143 is *lèsátsyúá* while those of examples 144 and 145 are *kə̀tsyúá* and *dítsyúá* which are of class 4 and class 5 respectively:

- 143) **uyifo** **lesatsyua**
 ó= yífó **lèsá** **tsyúá**
 3SG.NOM.PST= make **thing** INDEF
 ‘He did something’ (Verbs 29.1)

- 144) **bənyə** **bənkə** **nbukubi** **bua** **ku** **kətsyuə**
 bá= à- nyə bənkə ñ- *bùkùbí búà kú kà- tsyúá
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see they say NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
əmbə **yookpe** **mə** **bulə** **lə**
 à- n- bá yò= ó- kpé mó bə- là là
 SCR NEG exist 3SG.NOM= FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
kəsiəko **kəmə**
 kà- síá -kó ká- mó
 NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
 ‘They had seen that there aren't any bad insects and others which will worry them in the place’
 (History_amankrado 3.98)

- 145) **ditsyuə** **lə bətə** **wə** **diye** **nəmfó** **la** ,
 lè- tsyúá ló bá= tó wə lè- *yē nǎ- mfó lá
 CL5 INDEF if 3PL.NOM.PST= give 3SG.ACC NCL5 name CL5 that TOP
ni **tsya ko laabe** **wə** **kato nə** .
 ní tsyā kò lè= á- bé wə kàtô nǎ
 CL5.PN too then REL= HAB raise 3SG.ACC top of really
 ‘Sometimes if they gave him that name, it is that which will really be popular’
 (Naming_ceremony 32.1)

5.1.1.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions anchored on speech act participants and used to refer to and distinguish some entities from others (Bobuafor 2013:127). Typically, they are used to show whether the entities referred to are close or far in space and time from the speaker. There are two features that characterise demonstratives in most languages (Dryer 2007:162). The first is that they can be used to draw the hearer's attention to something in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer, possibly accompanied by a gesture indicating the approximate location of the referent. The second is that they involve at least a two-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker. Sekpele has a four-way contrast: *mǎfǒ*, *mǎfó*, *mǎ*, and *nǎsé*. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. They agree in class

with the head noun. The other two are used to refer to proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants and entities in the distal vicinity respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures in discourse. They do not show any agreement with the head noun. All four demonstratives have their corresponding pronouns used as demonstrative pronouns (see also §6.3)

5.1.1.3.3.1 Proximal demonstratives

The proximal demonstrative *m̃f̃ō* ‘this’ is used to indicate referents close to the speaker or deictic centre. This is illustrated in:

- 146) **osani** **ketsyenkle əmə** **əbə** **mfo**
 ò- *sànî kètsɛŋklè á- mó à- bó **m̃f̃ō**
 NCL1 man tall CL1 the PFV come **here**
 ‘The tall man came here’ (Adjectives 22.1)
- 147) **fə** **lekpaa** **nya** **ntsyə** **iibə** **fěě** **bo**
 fə lèkpàkpà nyá òtsyé é= à- bó fěě bó=
 2SG.POSS hat then how 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV come before 1PL.POSS=
betidi **tsya** **lisi** **baataka** **mfo**
 bà- *tídi tsyâ lè= sí bá= à- tákà **m̃f̃ō**
 NCL2 person too REL= still 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV rise **here**
beesu **Kukurantumi ?**
 bá= à- sù Kukurantumi
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV go Kukurantumi
 ‘Please, then how did it happen before our people had risen from here and gone to Kukurantumi?’
 (History_amankrado 12.1)

Proximal demonstratives which occur as modifiers in a noun phrase are marked with a class marker in agreement with the noun they occur with (see §4.4.3). This is illustrated in:

- 148) **ubuki** **əmfo** **eto** **okle** **inuə** **nkpe**
 ò- *bùkí á- mfò eto ó- *klè è- *núà ò = kpé
 NCL1 animal CL1 this POSS NCL1 kind CL3 two REL = exist
 ‘Two kinds of this animal exist’ (Miscellaneous 3.1)
- 149) **uyi** **uku** **əmfo**
 ò = yí ò- *kú á- mfò
 3SG.NOM = know NCL3 story CL3 this
 ‘He knows this story’ (Verbs 193.1)
- 150) **lə** **batə** **lə** **əkwe** **tsyaa** , **ekplibi**
 lá bà = tó lá əkwe tsyâ = à- *kplíbí
 if 3PL.NOM = go towards LOC farm too = TOP NCL6 cooking pot
əmfo **beetsyi** **ntu** **nə** **kesu** **əkwe** **kesu**
 á- mfò bá = á- tsyí ntù ná kà- sù əkwe kà- sù
CL6 **this** 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry water really INF go farm INF go
kənə **nə** .
 kà- nə ná
 INF drink really
 ‘If they are going to farm too, these cooking pots they really carry water to the farm and really drink’
 (Pottery 47.10)
- 151) **akpe** **fe** **se** **kotoku** **kuəmfo** **seka** **mə** .
 à = kpé fè sé kò- *tòkú kús- mfò sèkâ mǎ
 2SG.NOM put like when NCL7 sack CL7 this similar like this
 ‘You put it into something similar to this sack’ (Soap_making 18.3)

The proximal demonstratives in examples 148, 149, 150 and 151 are of class 1, class 3, class 6 and class 7 respectively. There are proximal demonstrative pronouns that are marked for specific classes. The proximal demonstrative pronoun in example 152 is of class 11 while example 153 has the animate proximal demonstrative pronoun and the proximal demonstrative pronoun of class 5. Example 153 also shows a tonal contrast between proximal and distal pronouns:

- 152) **siəmfo** **te** **muusi** **nto**
sià- **mfò** tè mò = ó- sí ñ = tò
CL11 **this** only 1SG.NOM = FUT still 1SG.NOM = mould
ntəkə **nə**
ñ = táká ná
1SG.NOM = put on really
‘Only this one I will still use to mould onto it really’ (Pottery 182.1)

- 153) **əbusiə** **lefe** **ditsyuə** , **nǎ** **ku** **wǎ**
à = bó- síá lé- *fè lé- tsyúá nǎ kú **wǎ**
2SG.NOM FUT dwell NCL5 time CL5 some CL5.DIST and **3SG.PROX**
ntsyə **yuutsyə** , **wǎ** **ku** **nǎ** **ntsyə**
ñtsyá yò = ó- tsyà wǎ kú **nǎ** ñtsyá
how 3SG.NOM = FUT be 3SG.DIST and **CL5.PROX** how
yuutsyə ?
yò = ó- tsyà
3SG.NOM = FUT be
‘You will dwell some time, that and this how will it be, that and this how will it be?’
(Pottery 238.1)

5.1.1.3.3.2 Distal demonstratives

The distal demonstrative **m̩fó** ‘that’ forms a minimal pair with the proximal demonstrative **m̩fò** ‘this’. It is used to indicate referents that are removed or further away from the speaker or deictic centre, either within the vicinity or away from the vicinity. This is illustrated in:

- 154) **ntsyanko** , **mfó** **mintsya**
ñ = tsyá -n- -kó **m̩fó** m̩ = -n- tsyâ
1SG.NOM.PST = meet LIG ASSOC **that** 1SG.NOM = LIG too
linyə **minse** **nə** .
lè = nyà m̩ = n- sé nǎ
REL = see 1SG.NOM = EMPH reach really
‘I experienced it, that is where my memory can really take me’ (Good_old_days 11.5)

- 155) **ntu fuutəkə ntutə akpo kolo kuã** .
 ntù fò= ó- táká ntùtá à- kpó kò- *ló kúã
 water 2SG.NOM= FUT put on hot water SCR pour NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF
amanter mfó ṅgbə ?
 á= n- à- n- téyí **mfó** ṅgbà
 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG say **that** EMPH
 ‘It is water, you will pour hot water on the soda ash. You didn't say that?’
 (Soap_making 13.2)

- 156) **osani əmə dikulə mfó əbə mfo**
 ò- *sàni á- mǎ lè= kúlá **m̃fó** à- bá m̃fò
 NCL1 man CL1 the REL= become tall **there** PFV come here
 ‘The man who is tall over there came here’ (Adjectives 23.1)

When the distal demonstrative occurs in a noun phrase, it takes a class marker in agreement with the head noun, as illustrated in:

- 157) **itə eso lefe ñmfó la , kuyu**
 é= tá ésò lé- *f̃e **ñs- mfó** lá₃ kúyù
 3SG.NOM.PST= allow therefore **NCL5 time CL5 that** TOP theft
mambo
 n- à- n- b̃ò
 NEG SCR NEG become widespread
 ‘For that reason, during that period, stealing was not widespread’ (Punishment 14.2)

- 158) **bale fə mbusuo bomfó buləkə** .
 bà= lé f̃ə ñ- *b̃usúó **bó- mfó** bo- lókà
 3PL.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC **NCL10 abomination CL10 that** NMLZ remove
 ‘They are cleansing you of those abominations’ (Punishment 1.6)

- 159) **gakee , bomfo kesum kamfó**
 gake = bó= m̃fò **kà- *súm** **ká- mfó**
 but =TOP 1PL.POSS= here **NCL9 service NCL9 that**
k̃ambə bo m̃õter .
 ka= n- bá b̃ò m̃ò= ó- téyí
 CL9.NOM= NEG exist 1PL.ACC 1SG.NOM= FUT say
 ‘But, with us here that service doesn't exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)

The distal demonstratives in examples 157, 158 and 159 are of class 5, class 10 and class 9 respectively. The distal demonstrative can occur as a personal pronoun. This is illustrated in:

- 160) **woe ni wəmfó** ?
 wòé ní wà= **mfó**
 who be 3SG.NOM= that
 ‘Who is that?’ (Pottery 156.1)

- 161) **eso leymimala ku litididu**
 ésò lè- *yìmí n- á- lá kú lè- *tídì *dù
 therefore NCL5 sibling NEG HAB love and NCL5 human betrayal
nǎ lekeɛ , nya litə məmfo tsya
 nǎ lè= kè = nyá lè= tá **mó** **mfó** tsyâ
 CL5.REL.PRO REL= exist =TOP 3SG.PN REL= give 3PL.PN that too
lema beedu nə .
 lè= má bá= à- dú nǎ
 REL= split 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV leave really
 ‘Therefore enmity and the human betrayal which existed, that caused those people too to split and leave really’
 (History_amankrado 15.16)

5.1.1.3.3.3 Proximal vicinity

The demonstrative **mó** is used in an NP to indicate referents within the vicinity of the participants. It has the same form as the definite article but has a different function. Whereas the definite article is prefixed with a class marker, the demonstrative is not. It is typically accompanied with a gesture by the speaker pointing at the referent in sight. Examples of the demonstrative **mó** are illustrated without gestures in:

- 162) **lə busə fəəbə la , kukuə , nyə**
 lá bə- sà fā = á- bá lá kó- *kùà nyà
 if NMLZ fry 2SG.NOM = PROSP come TOP NCL7 grinding stone see
kəni ntə mə .
 kò- *ní ñ = tó **mə**
 NCL7 one REL = be.at **there**
 ‘If you want to fry it, then grinding stone, see one over there’ (Good_old_days 13.3)

- 163) **fi əkpe mə aboko lə nse abe**
 fĩ ò- *kpé **mə** à = bókó lá ñ = sè à- *bé
 take NCL3 bowl **there** 2SG.NOM bring HORT 1SG.NOM = pick CL6 palmtree
nkpo bowa budi .
 ñ = kpó bə = wà bə = dí
 1SG.NOM = pour 1PL.NOM = cook 1PL.NOM = eat
 ‘Bring a bowl from over there so I can pick palmtrees into it so we can cook and eat’
 (Pottery 217.2)

- 164) **mbe , ye boso . ɔnkə ele bəbo mə** .
 mbê yè bə- só ɔnkə è = lé bə- bó **mə**
 mother stop NMLZ beat 3SG.COMP 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ get out **there**
 ‘Mother, stop beating it. He says it is coming out there’ (Palm_oil 14 & 15)

The demonstrative **mə** has a relational interpretation where an entity or an action is said to be related to another. This is illustrated in:

- 165) **nya beolosə esu eyifo**
 nyá bè = ó- lò -sà à = sù à = yífó
 then 2PL.NOM = FUT be finish CAUS 2SG.NOM go 2SG.NOM do
sekabe eyifo mə ebo mə .
 sèkábè à = yífó **mə** è = bə **mə**
 palm leaf 2SG.NOM do **like this** 3SG.NOM = bend **like this**
 ‘Then you (pl) will finish, then you go and get palm leaf then you do like this, it bend like this’
 (Good_old_days 7.4)

- 166) **nya alebe ɔbeke əmə** [is like this]
 nyá álébé ò- *bèké á- mǎ
 then however NCL3 cage CL3 the
yaamɔ mə .
 yà= á- mǎ **mǎ**
 3SG.NOM= HAB become big **like this**
 ‘Then however the cage is like this; it usually as big as this’ (Punishment 4.2)

- 167) **ěě , lə ekwee** , **mootakasə**
 ěě lǎ é= kwé = mǔ= ó- tákà -sə
 yes if 3SG.NOM.PST= become dry =TOP 1SG.NOM= FUT rise CAUS
nyamfo mə pá .
 nyàmǔ **mǎ** pá
 this **like this** swiftly
 ‘Yes, if it dries up, I will raise this one like this swiftly’ (Pottery 104.1)

5.1.1.3.3.4 Distal vicinity

The demonstrative *n̄sé*, unlike *mǎ*, is used to indicate one or more referents far away from the vicinity of the participants (both speaker and hearer). It is also typically accompanied with a gesture by the speaker pointing in the direction of the referent out of sight especially in an iterative manner. Examples of the demonstrative *n̄sé* are illustrated without gestures in:

- 168) **ɔni əbə , wǔ nse atsyimɪ**
 ò- *ní à- bó wǔ **n̄sé** à- tsyímì
 CL1 one PFV come 3SG.REL.PRO **there** PFV stay
 ‘One came, the other over there stayed’ (Verbs 340.1)

- 169) **lə etsyi** **kalekuə** , **lə betsyi**
 lə á= tsyì kálè *kùá = lə bá= tsyí
 if 2SG.NOM.PST come from area south =TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST= carry
fə mfóó befi fə besu
 fə m̀fó = bà= fí fə bà= sù
 2SG.ACC there =TOP 3PL.NOM= take 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= go
bətsyə lə kalekato to kabanto nse keŋ .
 bà= tsyà lə kálèkàtó tò kàbàntó **̀nsé** kɛŋ
 3PL.NOM= put LOC north area POSS outskirt **there** far
 ‘From the south, if they carry you from there, they will place you at the farthest outskirt of the north’
 (Punishment 7.1)

- 170) **bo ku mə ditsyi nse gake bəbə du**
 bó kú mə lè= tsyì **̀nsé** gake bá= bə dú
 1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL= come from **there** but 3PL.NOM.PST= come leave
lə mə ɔflo eso la , məmə bakpe dibia
 lə mə ɔflo éso lá məmə bà= kpé lè- *bíà
 LOC 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM= exist NCL5 cave
 ‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a cave’
 (History_amankrado 1.14)

5.1.1.4 Intensifiers

Intensifiers are a class of adverbs that add emphasis to the meaning of a word or phrase. They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They can be allocated into various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. The intensifiers in Sekpele include *sàà* ‘each, every, any’, *àlèè* ‘alone’, *hǎ* ‘only’, *kónj* ‘actually, really’, *kplónj* ‘alone, only’, *kóla* ‘even’, *páá* ‘really, very much’, *tǎ* ‘all’, *tè* ‘only’, *tètè* ‘simply’, *tsyá* ‘too, also’, *kéŋké* ‘all, completely’ and *pété* ‘all, completely’. They do not show any agreement with the head noun.

5.1.1.4.1 Quantifying intensifiers

The quantifying intensifiers in Sekpele include *sàà* ‘each, every, any’, *kéṅké* ‘all, completely’, *pété* ‘all, completely’ and *tá* ‘all’. The quantifier *sàà* can be identified as a universal quantifier in Sekpele. It may be glossed as ‘every’, ‘each’ or ‘any’. In negative constructions, it takes the meaning ‘none’. This is illustrated in:

- 171) **dibu saa kpe ni osate**
 lé- *bû **sàà** kpé ni òsàtè
 NCL5 hut **each** have CL5.POSS owner
 ‘Each hut has its owner’ (Adverbs 56.1)
- 172) **usio saa əmbə wə lə diyo .**
 ò- *sìó **sàà** à- n- bó wə lə dìyó
 NCL1 woman **each** SCR NEG exist 3SG.ACC LOC house
 ‘No woman is in his house’ (Pottery 299.2)
- 173) **kutsyuə saa nle bokase loo .**
 kò- tsyúé **sàà** ò= lé bo- kásé lóó
 NEG INDEF **each** REL= hold NMLZ study UFP
 ‘Nobody is learning it!’ (Pottery 55.2)

When *sàà* is used as a verb modifier, it occurs with a negative VP and expresses the meaning ‘never’, as illustrated in:

- 174) **yambia saa !**
 yá= n- biá **sàà**
 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG be spoil **never**
 ‘It isn’t bad!’ (Pottery 274.1)

The quantifier *sàà* occurs in distributive nominal duplicative constructions (see Ameka 1999:91; Bobuafor 2013:122). This is a complex NP structure in which two identical NPs are linked by the quantifier *sàà*. This is illustrated in:

- 175) **utsyuə** **saa** **utsyuə** , **lə** **bedi** **lesa**
 ò- **tsyúá** **sàà** ò- **tsyúá** **lá** **bá=** **dí** **lè-** ***sá**
 NCL1 INDEF each NCL1 INDEF if 3PL.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 thing
nəmə [20 or 10] **ni** **oo** , **biuflə** **kənɪ** **lə**
 n- **má** **ní** = **bè=** **ó-** **flá** **kò-** ***nî** **ló**
 CL5 the be =TOP 2PL.NOM = FUT wash NCL7 arm LOC
ntu **bomfó** .
 n- ***tù** **bó-** **mfó**
 NCL10 water CL10 that
 ‘Everybody, if they eat the food, whether 20 or 10, you will wash your hands in that water’
 (Name_ceremony 5.1)

- 176) **utsyuə** **saa** **utsyuə** **te** **ɔnlə**
 ò- **tsyúá** **sàà** ò- **tsyúá** **tè** **ò=** **n-** **lé**
 NCL1 INDEF each NCL1 INDEF only 3SG.NOM = EMPH hold
bole **kafə** **fenkə** **ukuse** .
 bò- **lé** **kà-** **fè** **fè** **ńkə** ò- ***kùsé**
 NMLZ give birth INF surpass like that NCL1 chicken
 ‘Everybody is giving birth so much like chickens’ (Pottery 299.1)

- 177) **kale** **saa** **kale** , **umə** **saa** **umə** **kpe** **oka**
kálè **sàà** **kálè** **ó-** ***mè** **sàà** **ó-** ***mè** **kpé** **ó-** ***ká**
clan **each** **clan** NCL3 **town** **each** NCL3 **town** **have** NCL1 **chief**
 ‘Every clan and every town has a chief’ (Miscellaneous 103.1)

Examples 175 and 176 show a distributive nominal duplicative construction involving the indefinite noun *utsyuə* ‘somebody’ while example 177 shows distributive nominal duplicative constructions involving the nouns *kálè* ‘clan’ and *úmə* ‘town’.

The intensifier *sàà* when it occurs as a compound to the noun *léfè* ‘time’ takes the interpretation ‘always’, as illustrated in:

- 178) **waateyi** **bidia** **lefesaa**
wà= **á-** **téyí** **bè-** ***diá** **léfèsàà**
 3SG.NOM = HAB tell NCL12 lie **always**
 ‘S/he always tells lies’ (Adverbs 59.1)

- 179) **waayimɪ** **kamɔ** **lefe** **saa**
 wà = á- yímì kàmó **léfè** **sàà**
 3SG.NOM = HAB chew rice **time** **each**
 ‘He eats rice always’ (Verbs 5.1)
- 180) **lefe** **saa** **esi** **fanto** **Peter** **eto** **kesie**
léfè **sàà** à = sí f = ántô Peter étò kèsfè
time **each** 2SG.NOM sit 2SG.POSS = father Peter POSS doorway
 ‘You always sit at your father Peter's compound’ (Pottery 327.1)

The quantifier **kénké** ‘all, completely’ can also be said to be a universal quantifier in Sekpele. It modifies nouns, and personal and demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in:

- 181) **ufi** **bekpəfi** **bəmə** **kenke**
 ó = fí bà- *kpófi bá- **mó kénké**
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL2 child CL2 **the** **all**
 ‘He took all the children’ (Verbs 50.1)
- 182) **nya** **boowã** **lesa** **nəmə** **bebudi**
 nyá bò = ó- wà lè- *sá n-ó- **mó** bà = **búdí**
 then 3PL.NOM = FUT cook NCL5 thing CL5 the 3PL.NOM = tear
bətə **mə** **kenke** ; **bã** **sĩĩ** **lewɔnsəko** .
 bà = **tá** **mó** **kénké** **bã** **sĩĩ** **lè = wɔnsə̀kó**
 3PL.NOM = give 3PL.ACC **all** 3PL.REL.PRO for a while REL = help
 ‘Then they will cook the food and share it to everyone who helped’ (Naming_ceremony 4.1)
- 183) **be** **nyamfo** **kenke** **fěě** **bíbla** **lisu** **bə** , **əbunyə** ?
 bè **nyàmfo** **kénké** **fěě** **bíblà** **lè = sù** **bá** **á =** **bò-** **nyə**
 see **this** **all** before bible REL = go come 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
 ‘See all these before the bible came, have you seen?’ (Punishment 1.3)

The quantifier **kénké** can modify a pronoun which is derived from the universal quantifier **blé** ‘all’. This is illustrated in:

- 184) **yambo** **lefe** **nəmfó** to
 yá= n- bə lé- *fě ná- mfó tò
 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG become widespread NCL5 time CL5 that POSS
lefe **bəə** **babeletsya** **bəə** **bimble**
 lé- *fě bəə bà= bé létsyá bəə **bə=** -n- ***blé**
 NCL5 time 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= announce 3PL.COMP **2PL.NOM=** **LIG** all
kenke bibə **obia** .
kéŋké bə= bə òbíá
 all 2PL.NOM= come community centre
 ‘It wasn't widespread that period to announce that you all should come to the community
 centre’
 (History_amankrado 11.9)

- 185) **bankobe** **ni** **kato la** , **enii** **nimble** **kenke**
 bà= n- kóbé ní kàtô lá èníí **nə- -n- *blé kéŋké**
 3PL.NOM= NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP probably CL5 LIG all all
efusə
 à- fúsə
 PFV overturn
 ‘If they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned’ (Buying_name 36.1)

The quantifier **kéŋké**, unlike the quantifier **sàà**, does modify positive verb phrases and gives the interpretation of completeness. This is illustrated in:

- 186) **nya fuufi** **diwuš eklu** **kenke** .
 nyá fò= ó- fí diwúš à= klù **kéŋké**
 then 2SG.NOM= FUT take hoe 2SG.NOM weed with hoe **completely**
 ‘Then you will weed with a hoe completely’ (Good_old_days 6.3)
- 187) **ntu** **lookpi** **bobo** **kenke** **ko** **kalo**
 níttù lò= ó- kpì bó- bós **kéŋké** kò kálò
 water REL= FUT dry up FUT get out **completely** then down
yooŋfiani **abe** **to** **kota** .
 yò= ó- fiánì à- *bé tò kótà
 3SG.NOM= FUT become CL6 palmtree POSS mud
 ‘The water will evaporate completely then underneath it will become palmtree cake’
 (Palm_oil 16.5)

The quantifier **pété** ‘all, completely’ is borrowed from Ewe and it is synonymous to **kéŋké**. It is frequently used in discourse just as **kéŋké** and is illustrated in:

- 188) **nya ɔnkə , mfo ẽ pete iidu lə kakã**
 nyá ɔnkə m̩f̩ ẽ pété é= à- dú ló kàkã
 then 3SG.COMP here CL3.DEF all 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV leave LOC place
bensi mf̩ kɔtɪnɪ kalo pete ibə fe
 bà= n- sí m̩f̩ kòtɪnɪ kálɔ pété è= bá f̩
 3PL.NOM= EMPH dwell there mountain under all 3SG.NOM= come surpass
la , wɔ kaso te ni mf̩
 lá wɔ kàsɔ tè ní m̩f̩
 TOP 3SG.POSS land only be there
 ‘Then he said the entire place from under the mountain over there and beyond was his land’
 (History_amankrado 3.3)

- 189) **nya məmə tsya letaka bəbə babe**
 nyá mómó tsyâ lè= tákà bá= bá= bə
 then 3PL.PN too REL= get up 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= see
kasɔ kã nya besu bala
 kà- *sɔ kã nyá bá= sù bá= là
 NCL9 land CL9.DEF then 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= cut
kasɔ kã nko pete
 kà- *sɔ kã níkò pété
 NCL9 land CL9.DEF like that completely
 ‘Then they too got up and came to see the land then shared the land like that completely’
 (History_amankrado 3.101)

The quantifier *tã* ‘all’ can be said to be synonymous with *sàà*. However, it does not occur in nominal duplicative constructions. Its use is illustrated in:

- 190) **boola esibu ẽ ku ndikɔ**
 bò= ó- là à- *sìbú ẽ kú ñ- dí -kɔ
 3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL6 sub-group CL6.DEF and NCL10 inherit PLACE
bətə məmə tã s̩ĩ bedi kakã
 bà= tó mómó tã s̩ĩ bà= dí kàkã
 3PL.NOM= give 3PL.ACC all a while 3PL.NOM= inherit place
bensi
 bà= n- sí
 3PL.NOM= EMPH dwell
 ‘They will share the sub-groups and inheritances among them all to inherit the place they settled’
 (History_amankrado 3.18)

- 191) **besu** **bənyə** **bətsyə** **lekpo** **nkə**
 bá= sù bá= nyə bá= tsyè lèkpó nkə
 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= find 3PL.NOM.PST= put recognition that
kakā baakpe **otodi** **bā** **tā inuə** ,
 kākā bá= à- kpé òtòdì **bǎ** **tǎ** è- *núə
 place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put **palm frond** **3PL.REL.PRO** **all** CL3 two
iyifo **fenkə** **bosadi** .
 é= yífó fē nkə bō- sādì
 3SG.NOM.PST= do like that NMLZ comb
 ‘They found out that the place they had put both palm fronds had been combed’
 (History_amankrado 3.60)

- 192) **woofiani** **utsyə** **bomble** **tā**
 wò= ó- fiánì ùtsyúé **bò=** -n- *blé **tǎ**
 3SG.NOM= FUT become somebody **1PL.NOM=** **LIG** **all** **all**
lookpe **disi busum**
 lò= ó- kpé dísi bō= súm
 REL= FUT put head 1PL.NOM= serve
 ‘He will become the person we all will unite to serve’ (King_making 4.2)

5.1.1.4.2 Focus intensifiers

Focus intensifiers in Səkpəle include *àlèè* ‘alone’, *há* ‘only’, *kóng* ‘actually, really’, *kplóng* ‘alone, only’, *kólá* ‘even’, *páá* ‘really, very much’, *tè* ‘only’, *tètè* ‘simply’, and *tsyá* ‘too, also’. The intensifier *àlèè* ‘alone’ is used to place emphasis on the head noun. This is illustrated in:

- 193) **gake** **lə** **lekpa** **əsuə** **bakoko** **la** , **oka** **alee** ,
 gake lə lé- *kpá əsúə bà- *kòkó lá ó- *ká àléé
 but LOC NCL5 custom top of NCL2 ancient TOP NCL1 chief alone
oto **unsi** .
 ótò ò= n- sí
 hometown 3SG.NOM= EMPH dwell
 ‘But according to the custom of the ancients, the chief alone, at home he stays’
 (King_making 14.11)

- 194) **lə** **efe** **esi** **lə** **lekpome** **fěě** **ekpe**
 lá èfě à= sí lá lè- *kpòmé fěě èkpè
 if now 2SG.NOM dwell LOC NCL5 stool before truly
eekepe **ekuku** **alee** , [**consideration**] **kpe**
 é= à- kpé á- *kùkù àléé kpé
 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV exist NCL6 **piece** **alone** exist
boofa **fə** **butə**
 bò= ó- fó fə bò- tó
 3PL.NOM= FUT be able 2SG.ACC NMLZ give
 ‘If you already sit on the throne before truly it became amputated²⁰ alone, they will be able to
 give you some consideration’ (King_making 2.14)

The intensifier **hǎ** ‘only’ also places emphasis on the head noun or pronoun. This is illustrated in:

- 195) **lə** **ifusə** , **bā** **kasə** **hā**
 lá é= fúsə **bǎ** **kàsə** **hǎ**
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= overturn 3PL.REL.PRO ground only
luudii !
 lə= ó- dí = í
 REL= FUT eat =UFP
 ‘If it overturns, only those on the ground will eat it’ (Buying_name 37.1)

- 196) **mə** **hā** **to** **diye** **baawonɪ**
mə **hǎ** **tò** **dìyê** **bá=** **à-** **wónì**
 1SG.PN only POSS name 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV write
bəetəkə
 bá= à- tókə
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put on
 ‘It is only my name which is written on it’ (Pottery 242.1)

The intensifier **kóng** ‘actually, really’ is used as a modifier in both noun phrases and verb phrases. This is illustrated in:

²⁰ Disabled people or amputees are not allowed to be chiefs unless they are already on the throne before they were disabled. Being disabled may be a condition for deposition.

- 197) **afo** **diye** **nã** **koŋ** .
 á= fò **lè-** ***yê** **ná** **kóŋ**
 2SG.NOM.PST receive NCL5 name CL5.DEF really
 ‘You have received the name for real’ (Buying_name 12.3)
- 198) **itsyise** **betsyua** **afo** **seka** **siã** **koŋ**
 ítsyisé bà- tsyúá à- fò **sé-** ***ká** **siã** **kóŋ**
 because NCL2 some PFV receive NCL11 chief CL11.DEF really
betsyiko **Onantoto**
 bá= tsyì -kó ònántó *tò
 3PL.NOM.PST= come from ASSOC Almighty God place
mòter **nə**
 mò= ó- téyí ná
 1SG.NOM= FUT say really
 ‘Because some people have received the chieftaincy really from God I will say’
 (King_making 2.6)
- 199) **yaankele**
 yà= á- n- kélé
 3SG.NOM= HAB NEG take much time
yaankele **koŋ** .
 yà= á- n- kélé **kóŋ**
 3SG.NOM= HAB NEG take much time **really**
 ‘It really doesn't take much time’ (Naming_ceremony 19.1)
- 200) **waalabe** **koŋ**
 wà= á- lábé **kóŋ**
 3SG.NOM= HAB sleep **really**
 ‘S/he really sleeps’ (Adverbs 66.1)

The intensifier **kplón** ‘alone, only’ is used for modifying nouns, as illustrated in:

- 201) **osani** **ɔni** **kplon dibə**
 ò- ***sànî** ò- ***ní** **kplón** **lè=** **bá**
 NCL1 man CL1 one only REL= come
 ‘Only one man came’ (Miscellaneous 48.1)

- 202) **diye** **ně** **lonɪ** **kplon** **te** **dini**
ɖiyê **ně** **lò-** ***ní** **kplón** **tè** **lè=** **ní**
name **CL5.DEF** **CL5** **one** **only** **only** **CL5.NOM=** **be**
boakpo **nya** **.**
bó= **á-** **kpó** **nyá**
1PL.NOM.PST= **HAB** **call** **3SG.ACC**
‘It is the same name we call it’ (Ofo 15.2)

The intensifier **kólá** ‘even’ is used to modify nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

- 203) **betsyue** **kola** **baanle** **ola** **ekuklubi**
bà- **tsyúá** **kólá** **bà=** **á-** **n-** **lé** **ólá** **á-** ***kùklúbí**
NCL2 **INDEF** **even** **3PL.NOM=** **HAB** **NEG** **hold** **care** **NCL6** **caterpillar**
ake
á- **kè**
HAB **exist**
‘Even some people don’t take good care of it such that caterpillars dwell in it’ (Pottery 206.2)

- 204) **enii** **buusu** **bafo** **okwe** **kola**
èníí **bò=** **ó-** **sù** **bà=** **fó** **ðkwé** **kólá**
probably **3PL.NOM=** **FUT** **go** **3PL.NOM=** **cultivate** **farm** **even**
bətə **oka** **lə** **kasə** **kpe** **mə** **.**
bà= **tá** **o-** ***ká** **lá** **kàsə** **kpé** **mə**
3PL.NOM= **give** **NCL1** **chief** **if** **land** **exist** **3PL.ACC**
‘Probably they would go and even farm for the chief if they have land’ (King_making 14.19)

The intensifier **páá** ‘really, very much’ is also used for modifying nouns and verbs, as illustrated in:

- 205) **fə** **Oma** **paa** **la** **, [too bad].**
fə **Oma** **páá** **lá**
2SG.PN **Oma** **much** **TOP**
‘As for you Oma, too bad’ (Pottery 304.1)

- 206) **eso** [**difference**] **kpe** **lə** **mɔ** **ku** **wə** **to** **nti** **paa**
 ésò kpé lá mɔ́ kú wê tò ntí páá
 therefore exist LOC 1SG.PN and 3SG.PN POSS between **much**
bəə , **wə** **ku** **okaa** , **beyifo** **kplikplikpli**
 báə wê kú óká =á bà= yífo kplikpliklí
 3PL.COMP 3SG.PN and chief =TOP 3PL.NOM= make near
nso **mɔ** .
 ñ= só mɔ́
 REL= surpass 1SG.PN
 ‘Therefore much difference exists between me and him such that, him and the chief, they are
 closer to each other than me’ (King_making 10.2)

- 207) **lə** **udi** **paa** , [**ten** **cedis**].
 lá ó= dí páá
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= win much
 ‘If he wins so much, ten cedis’ (Pottery 258.1)

The intensifiers *tè* ‘only’ and *tètè* ‘simply’ is used for modifying nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

- 208) **nya** **te** **minkə** **maater** .
 nyá tè minkə mà= á- téyí
 3SG.PN only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM= PROSP say
 ‘That alone I want to say’ (Buying_name 40.1)
- 209) **eso** **lə** **ntu** **te** **fetsyi** ... **olesiə** **tu** **fetsyi**
 ésò lá ntù tè fà= tsyí òlèsíə tú fà= tsyí
 therefore if **water** **only** 2SG.NOM= carry morning early 2SG.NOM= carry
fəbə **aboko** ‘ **ewu** **nyə** **diye** **to** **ntu** ’.
 fà= bá à= bókó éwú nyə dìyê tò ntù
 2SG.NOM= come 2SG.NOM bring grandmother see name POSS water
 ‘Therefore if you only carry water ... early morning you bring it “grandma, here is name's
 water”’ (Buying_name 49.2)

- 210) **ntu** **buǎ** **beetsyi** **lə** **olotsyi**
 n- *tù búǎ bá= á- tsyí ló ò- *lòtsyí
 NCL10 water CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry LOC NCL3 **drinking pot**
tete **tete**
tètè **tètè**
simply **simply**
 ‘The water they simply carry in drinking pot’ (Buying_name 46.3)

The intensifier **tsyá** ‘too, also’ is used for modifying nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

- 211) **bate** **tsya ake** **wə** .
 bà- *tê **tsyâ** à- kè wə
 NCL2 **goat too** PFV exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘She had goats too’ (Buying_name 56.6)
- 212) **eso** **umə** ... **kale** **saa** **kpe** **oka** **fěě**
 ésò ó- *mà kálè sàà kpé ó- *ká fěě
 therefore NCL3 town clan each have NCL1 chief before
umə́nka **tsya nkpe** .
 ó- *mà -n- *ká **tsyâ** ñ= kpé
 NCL1 **town** **LIG** **chief too** REL = exist
 ‘Therefore a town ... each clan has a chief as well as a town chief too’
 (History_amankrdo 11.12)
- 213) **nya eso** **bǎ** **tsya leye** **bunə**
 nyá ésò **bǎ** **tsyâ** lè= yè bó- nà
 therefore **3PL.DEM too** REL = stop NMLZ drink
 ‘Therefore those too have stopped drinking it’ (Pottery 203.1)

The intensifier can be used to modify a verb phrase as well. This is illustrated in:

- 214) **əmbə** **busiə** **tsya lə** **ni** .
 à= n- bó **bó-** **síó** **tsyâ** ló ní
 2SG.NOM NEG come **FUT** **sit too** LOC CL5.ACC
 ‘You won’t even sit on it’ (King_making 2.39)

- 215) ewu likpə oo ukpə tsya
 éwú lè = kpá = oo ó = kpá tsyâ
 grandmother REL = to die = TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too
 wənkpə tɔɔ
 wá = n- kpá tɔɔ
 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet
 ‘Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’ (Buying_name 18.1)

- 216) lə kafia to dinə fəətə wə tsya ,
 lá kà- *fiá tò dínə fá = à- tɔ wə tsyâ
 if NCL9 cloth POSS piece 2SG.NOM.PST = PFV give 3SG.ACC too
 ətə wə .
 á = tɔ wə
 2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC
 ‘If you had given her a piece of cloth too, you gave her’ (Buying_name 56.3)

The intensifier *tsyá* ‘too, also’ can occur together with other intensifiers, especially the intensifier *kólá* ‘even’. This is illustrated in:

- 217) kofa lələləl kola tsya beyu əmbə .
 kɔfá lələləl kólá tsyâ ba- *yù à- n- bó
 month whole even too NCL2 thief SCR NEG exist
 ‘Even a whole month, there were no thieves’ (Good_old_days 9.3)
- 218) nya eso lə okpe lə lelensi kola tsya la ,
 nyá ésô lá ò = kpé lá lélènsì kólá tsyâ lá
 therefore if 3SG.NOM = exist LOC abroad even too TOP
 elebəə wə ənəmi lee wə
 é = lè báə wá á- *nə mí léé wá
 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
 koto kɛ lə oto .
 kò- *tó kɛ lá ótò
 NCL7 ear exist LOC hometown
 ‘Therefore even if he is abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’
 (King_making 14.9)

The intensifiers *pété*, *kón*, *hā* and *tètè* have cognates in Ewe while *páá* has a cognate in Akan.

5.2 Complex noun phrases

This section discusses the types of complex noun phrases in Sekpele. These include genitive or possessive constructions and relative clauses.

5.2.1 Genitive or possessive constructions

The terms genitive and possessive are both used for constructions in which a noun phrase occurs with another noun phrase denoting a possessor (Dryer 2007:177; Payne & Huddleston 2002). However, the term genitive is sometimes reserved for NP constructions while the term possessive is reserved for constructions where the possession is predicated at the clause level (see § 9.7). For glossing conventions used in this thesis, I will employ the term possessive as the cover term. I refer to the modifying NP as ‘the possessor’ and the head noun as ‘the possessed noun’. The range of meanings associated with possessive constructions includes kinship relations, part-whole relations, ownership, and various abstract relations. Cross-linguistically, there are four possibilities by which possession is marked in an NP. Some languages mark it on the possessor, others mark it on the possessed noun, others use a possessive particle, and others place the NPs in juxtaposition. A language may employ two or more of these possibilities, each in a specific context.

In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possession in NPs is represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between them. The difference is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal since nominal possessors require the possessive particle *tò* and pronominal possessors do not require *tò*. Some kinship relations occur in both construction types.

5.2.1.1 Nominal possessors

In Sekpele, if the possessor is a nominal or a noun phrase, the possessive particle *tò* intervenes between the possessor and the possessed NP. This is illustrated in:

- 219) efe sə dzawale to kusə kutsyuə ətə bo
 èfè sè dzawale tò kó- *sə kó- tsyúś à= tá bò
 now sing Dzawale POSS NCL7 song CL7 some 2SG.NOM give 1PL.ACC
 ε
 = ε
 = TOP
 ‘Now sing a Dzawale song for us’ (Good_old_days 18.1)

- 220) nnuəbi to atsyə əmə , beku ð nə
 ní- *nùəbí tò à- *tsyâ á- mǎ békù ð nǎ
 NCL10 oil POSS NCL8 palm cake NCL8 the palmnut cake CL3.DEF really
 loo , ebuñi ətsyə kalesiə .
 lóó à= bó- fí à= tsyè kàlésíð
 UFP 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM put day after tomorrow
 ‘The oil cake, the palmnut cake, you will keep for the morning’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.4)

- 221) efi ote to kalua efi ətəkə
 à= fí ò- *tê tò kàlúá à= fí à= táká
 2SG.NOM take NCL1 goat POSS jaw 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on
 kato etsyi lekonklo nǎmə efi aboko .
 kàtò à= tsyí lèkònklo nǎ- mǎ à= fí à= bókó
 top of 2SG.NOM carry Lèkònklo CL5 the 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM bring
 ‘You put the goat's jaw on top of it and you bring the Lekonklo’ (Buying_name 16.2)

Examples 219, 220 and 221 contain possessive constructions with two nominals which have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between them. Example 219 has the nominal *Dzawale* and *kúsə* ‘song’, 220 has the nominals *nnuəbí* ‘oil’ and *àtsyâ* ‘palm cake’ while 221 has the nominals *òtê* ‘goat’ and *kàlúá* ‘jaw’. The first of these nominals is the possessor while the second is the possessed noun.

The possessive particle *tò* is also used in constructions involving spatial and body part elements (as in 221). The possessive particle is realised as *étò* which is the longer form of *tò*. This is illustrated in:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------|------|-----|------------|-----|--------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 222) | uyi | əmə | təkə | lə | ditsyitsya | eto | kotosi | | |
| | o- | *yî | a- | má | tóká | lô | lè- | tsyítsyà | eto kò-tòsì |
| | NCL3 | tree | CL3 | the | be on | LOC | NCL5 | basket | POSS NCL7-cheek |
| | ‘The stick is on the edge of the basket’ | | | | | | | (Locative_verbs 43.1) | |
-
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---------------|---------|---------|------------|-------------|---------------|----------|------|
| 223) | nya | baale | | | | seka | | siñ | |
| | nyá | bá = | | à- | lé | sé- | *ká | siñ | |
| | then | 3PL.NOM.PST = | | PFV | possess | NCL11 | chief | CL11.DEF | |
| | baafo | | | | lə | Akonto | eto | anı | |
| | bá = | | à- | fō | ló | Akonto | eto | à- | *nî |
| | 3PL.NOM.PST = | PFV | collect | | LOC | Akonto | POSS | NCL8 | arm |
| | beefi | | | | semankrado | | beefi | | |
| | bá = | | à- | fĩ | sè- | *mánkràdò | bá = | à- | fĩ |
| | 3PL.NOM.PST = | PFV | take | | NCL11 | king making | 3PL.NOM.PST = | PFV | take |
| | bəətə | | | wə | | | | | |
| | bá = | | à- | tá | wə | | | | |
| | 3PL.NOM.PST = | PFV | give | 3SG.ACC | | | | | |
| | ‘Then they had possessed the chieftaincy from the hands of Akonto and they had given him the king making’ | | | | | | | | |
| | (History amankrado 3.112) | | | | | | | | |

Some kinship relations may have the possessive particle elided, especially when it is used as a name. In most African cultures, it is common for one to be called by their kinship relation. For instance, someone called Kofi may have any of his relations bearing his name. His father may be called ‘**Kofi’s father**’, his mother called ‘**Kofi’s mother**’, his grandfather called ‘**Kofi’s grandfather**’ and his sister called ‘**Kofi’s sister**’. Parents of twins may be called ‘**twin’s father**’ and ‘**twin’s mother**’.

In Sèkpele, all kinship relations have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the NPs, with the exception of the terms for parents.

- 224) foona to ewu !
 f= óná tò éwú
 2SG.POSS= grandfather POSS grandmother
 ‘Your grandfather's grandmother!’ (Pottery 154.1)
- 225) Menu to Ritaa , wə bə̀təkə wə nə .
 Ménú tò Rita = wê bá= tóká wè ná
 Menu POSS Rita =TOP 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST= put on 3SG.ACC really
 ‘Menu's Rita, she they name her after really’ (Buying_name 34.1)
- 226) Adzoa ambe ! mbe , ye boso .
 Adzoa ámbê mbê yè bò- só
 Monday-born female mother mum stop NMLZ beat
 ‘Adzoa's mother! Mum, stop beating’ (Palm_oil 13 & 14)

Examples 224 and 225 have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the kinship relations. The relation in 224 is between *óná* ‘grandfather’ and *éwú* ‘grandmother’ while that of example 225 is between *Menu* and probably his daughter or sister Rita. The possessive particle *tò* does not intervene between the kinship relations in 226. The relation is that of a mother and daughter, and they are juxtaposed to each other. This is the name of the mother, *Adzo Ambe*.

However with parents, the possessive NP may either have the possessive particle intervening between the NPs or the NPs can simply be in juxtaposition. NPs in juxtaposition are used as names (to address the persons) while the other is used referentially. This is illustrated in:

- 227) omankradoanto .
 ò- *mánkràdò ántò
 NCL1 king making father
 ‘King maker's father’ (King_making 7.1)

- 228) **eso** [**difference**] **kpe lə omankrado ku omankrado**
 ésò kpé ló ò- *mánkràdò kú ò- *mánkràdò
 therefore exist LOC NCL1 king making and NCL1 king making
to anto ?
tò ántô

POSS father

‘Therefore is there a difference between the king maker and the king maker's father?’

(King_making 7.2)

- 229) **mɔambe-ninə** **Kɔsidu ambee** ... **wə awã**
 mɔ= ámbê *nìnɔ Kɔsídù ámbê =e wə à- wã
 1SG.POSS= mother elder Kɔsidu mother =TOP 3SG.PN PFV cook
wə
 wə
 3SG.ACC

‘My elder maternal aunt, Kɔsidu's mother ... She cooked for her’ (Buying_name 32.2 & 33.1)

- 230) **mɔ ni Abuya : Rambo to ambe** .
 mɔ ní Abuya **Rambo tò ámbê**
 1SG.PN be Abuya **Rambo POSS mother**
 ‘I am Abuya: Rambo's mother’ (Yarn 35.1)

Examples 227 and 228 have the kinship relation ‘father’ while examples 229 and 230 have the kinship relation ‘mother’. In examples 227 and 229, the relations are juxtaposed to each other and are used as the name of the possessed entity. In examples 228 and 230, the possessive particle *tò* intervenes between the kinship relations. They are used to express a reference to the possessed entity.

The parent relations can be compounded to their possessor to form a single word. These compounded words are used as names which could be used to address people or used as reference. Example 231 is a list of such names:

- 231) Ònàntó ‘Almighty God’ (lit. Father of our ancestors)

Òmánkràdòántô ‘King maker’s father’

Ókántô ‘stool father’ (lit. King’s father)

Àtántô ‘twin’s father’

Àtámbê ‘twin’s mother’

Bàfímfíántô ‘twin’s father’

Bàfímfíámbê ‘twin’s father’

The Likpe communities have naming conventions such that a person may have a given name and a pseudo-name. Most people also have nicknames which are different from their pseudo-names and they are used among peers. Pseudo-names supersede the given names: people are frequently called by their pseudo-names. A pseudo-name may consist of a relative’s name, a location, an event, or a circumstance as a reference name in combination with one of a person’s given name (first name or name associated with day of birth). The reference name precedes the given name and they occur in juxtaposition as illustrated in:

- 232) Lelaba Yaw
 Oklo Charles
 Kooko Amba
 Akonto Charles

Yaw lives close to the church bell therefore the people call him *lelaba* ‘bell’ Yaw. Oklo Charles’ uncle was called *Oklo* therefore he was named after his uncle. Kooko Amba sells agrochemicals for cocoa farming so her name is prefixed with *kookoo* ‘cocoa’ with an omission of the final vowel due to vowel number constraints. The information centre is stationed in the Akonto clan area. Charles is a member of the Akonto clan and his family is in charge of the information centre. He is called Akonto Charles because he lives in the Akonto area where the information centre is located. This naming system originates among peers and it is conventionalised to such an extent that, for example, a person’s obituary notice may bear both their given name and the acquired pseudo-name.

5.2.1.2 Pronominal possessors

In some languages, the construction for pronominal possessors is the same as that used for nominal possessors. For instance, a language that marks possession on the possessor may have the same genitive case marker on both pronominal and nominal possessors. In other languages, pronominal possession involves a distinct construction from that used with nominal possession. In French for instance, nominal possession involves placing the possessor after the possessed NP with the preposition *de* intervening between them, while pronominal possession involves a pronominal possessive pronoun that agrees with the possessed NP in gender and number (Dryer 2007:183).

In Sekpele, the position of the possessor for both pronominal and nominal possession is the same. They precede the possessed NP. However, Sekpele is similar to French in relation to how possession is represented. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves the juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. There is no gender or number agreement. Pronominal possession is illustrated in:

- 233) **nya** **bo** **antomə** **lekawã** **afa**
 nya **bó=** **ántô** **-mê** lè= kà- wà à- *fâ
 3SG.PN **1PL.POSS=** **father** **PL** REL= PROG cook NCL8 medicine
bəkəŋə
 bá= kà- nò
 3PL.NOM.PST= PROG drink
 ‘It is what our fathers used to cook medicines to drink’ (Pottery 47.9)

- 234) **ənni** **Mate ni mə** **diye** . **Abladi ni məmə** **diye** .
 è= n- ní Mate ní **mó** **diyê** Abladi ní **mámó** **diyê**
 3SG.NOM= NEG be Mate be **3PL.POSS name** Abladi be **3PL.POSS name**
 ‘Abladi is their name. Mate isn't their name’ (History_amankrado 3.73&74)

- 235) **dibu saa kpe ni osate**
 lé- *bû **sàà** kpé ni òsàté
 NCL5 hut **each** have CL5.POSS owner
 ‘Each hut has its owner’ (Adverbs 56.1)

Pronominal possessors can be procliticised onto the possessed noun. This phenomenon is found in other languages. A major source of differences between nominal possession and pronominal possession is the fact that, in many languages, pronominal possessors are normally represented just by possessive affixes on the possessed noun (Dryer 2007:183). This is illustrated in:

- 236) **wanto lee futsyè wookpo**
w= ántô lée **f= ùtsyúà** wò= ó- kpó
 3SG.POSS= **father** or 2SG.POSS= **somebody** 3SG.NOM= FUT call
ofa
 òfà
 maternal uncle
 ‘His father or somebody s/he will call uncle’ (Naming_ceremony 29.1)

- 237) **nya eso ufi wanto to diye**
 nyá ésô ó= fí **w= ántô** tò diyê
 therefore 3SG.NOM.PST= take 3SG.POSS= **father** POSS name
utøkə **fubi** **ǝ**
 ó= tákə **f= ùbí** **ǝ**
 3SG.NOM.PST= put on 2SG.POSS= **child** CL1.DEF
faale
 fá= à- lé
 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give birth
 ‘Therefore he placed his father’s name on the child you had given birth to’
 (Naming_ceremony 31.4)

It is possible for emphatic pronouns to occur with the possessive particle *tò*. However, this is rare and applies only in situations where one wants to lay emphasis on the possessor. This is illustrated in:

- 238) **wə** **eto** [**support**] **nyafěě** **umə́nka** **tsya**
wə **eto** **nyáfěě** **ó-** ***mà** **-n-** ***ká** **tsyâ**
3SG.PN **POSS** then **NCL1** **town** **LIG** **chief** **too**
loofó **wə** **ale** .
lò= **ó-** **fó** **wá** **àlé**
REL= **FUT** **be able** **3SG.POSS** **strength**
 ‘By his support then will the town chief be able to have his strength’ (History_amankrado 11.7)
- 239) **eso** [**difference**] **kpe** **lə** **mə** **ku** **wə** **to** **nti** **paa**
ésò **kpé** **lá** **mô** **kú** **wə** **tò** **ntí** **páá**
 therefore exist **LOC** **1SG.PN** and **3SG.PN** **POSS** **between** much
 ‘Therefore much difference exists between me and him’ (King_making 10.2)

5.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are dependent clauses that modify a noun (Huddleston & Pullum 2005:183). In Sekpele, relative clauses are postnominal and they employ relative pronouns which are portmanteau morphemes of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. There are two forms of the relativizer: (1) stative **n=** and (2) non-stative **IV=** where **V** is a vowel. The relativizer differs depending on the TAM and vowel harmony of the verb. The underlying relativizers for the perfective, the habitual, and the future are **/le=**, **/la=** and **/lo=** respectively. The relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization but is dropped in object relativization where the subject is a pronoun. This is because subject pronouns and the relativizer share the same slot in the verb and the presence of the subject pronoun leaves no other slot to be filled by the relativizer, therefore it is dropped. This is illustrated in:

- 240) **dikpəfi** [**ně** **nkpe** **səflə**] **alabe**
lè- ***kpəfí** **ně** **̀n=** **kpé** **séflǎ** **à-** **lábé**
NCL5 **child** **CL5.REL.PRO** **REL=** **have** **laziness** **PFV** **sleep**

‘The child who is lazy is asleep’ (Miscellaneous 16.1)

- 241) **kufuo** [**kuā** **osani** **ā** **leya**] **nyə** **lə**
 kò- *fùó **kuǎ** ò- *sàní á **lè=** **yà** **nyá** **ló**
 NCL7 vehicle **CL7.REL.PRO** NCL1 man CL1.DEF **REL=** **buy** stand LOC
obia
 òbíá
 community centre

‘The vehicle the man bought is standing at the public square’ (Miscellaneous 97.1)

- 242) **eso** **wə** **ni** **lekpome** [**nā**
 ésò wê ní **lè-** *kpòmé **nǎ**
 therefore 3SG.PN be NCL5 chair **CL5.REL.PRO**
uufo **nə**]
 ó= ò- fò ná
 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT receive really
 ‘Therefore that is the stool he had received really’ (History_amankrado 3.23)

Example 240 is subject relativization while examples 241 and 242 are object relativization. In examples 240 and 241, the relative clauses involve a relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, in example 242, the relative clause involves only a relative pronoun due to the fact that the subject of the relative clause is a pronoun. This is in contrast to example 241 in which the relative clause has a nominal subject. Details about relative clauses are discussed in §10.4.

5.3 Conjoined noun phrases

Most languages allow noun phrases that are formed by conjoining or coordinating two noun phrases. The coordinands may be simple NPs or complex NPs. The most common types of means to conjoin NPs are conjunction and disjunction.

5.3.1 NP conjunction

Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú* ‘and/with’ to link NPs as conjoined. A different particle is employed for event conjunction in Sekpele (see §10.5.1.2). The particle *kú* is used to show a comitative relation between two NPs. This is illustrated in:

- 243) *eso dikplibi ku olotsyi , anɪ ini*
*ésò lè- *kplíbí kú ò- *lòtsyí à- *ní è= ní*
 therefore NCL5 cooking pot and NCL3 drinking pot CL6 one 3SG.NOM= be
 lee ...?
 lée
 or
 ‘Therefore the cooking pot and the drinking pot, are they the same?’ (Pottery 46.1)

- 244) *bo ku mə ditsyi nse gake bəbə du*
bó kú mɔ́ lè= tsyì òsé gake bá= bó dú
 1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL= come from there but 3PL.NOM.PST= come leave
lə mə oflo eso la , məmə bakpe dibia ;
*lá mɔ́ óflò ésò lá mómó bà= kpé lè- *bíð*
 LOC 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM= exist NCL5 cave
Bakwa kato bəmə ku Bakwa dikuə , Bakwa kusə fe
Bakwa kàtô bá- mɔ́ kú Bakwa ðikùs Bakwa kúsé fè
Bakwa North CL2 the and Bakwa south Bakwa group set already
bakpe dibia fěě bəbə
*bà= kpé lè- *bíð fěě bá= à- bó*
 3PL.NOM= exist NCL5 cave before 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come
 ‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a cave; the Bakwa north and Bakwa south, the entire Bakwa group were in a cave before they had come’
 (History_amankrado 1.14)

Example 245 involves the conjunction of the nouns *dikplíbí* ‘cooking pot’ and *lòtsyí* ‘drinking pot’. Example 246 has two conjoined NPs. The first conjunction involves the emphatic pronouns *bó* ‘1PL.PN’ and *mɔ́* ‘3PL.PN’. The second pronoun conjunction involves the NPs *Bakwa kato* and *Bakwa dikuə*.

siblings’ and *fɛ̀ bàxɔ́* ‘your friends’. Example 247 involves the noun *òsàtɛ̀* ‘owner’ and the relative clause *wɔ́ lòóyà ítè* ‘the one who will buy wine’.

5.4 Noun phrases within adpositional phrases

This section discusses noun phrases within adpositional phrases. The subject of adpositions in the languages of West Africa has sparked controversies. Some linguists (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006; Ameka, 2003; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008; Lefebvre & Brousseau, 2002) hold the view that the languages they work in have prepositions and postpositions. They hold the view that spatial and body part nominals have grammaticalized into postpositions. Other linguists such as Aboh (2005, 2010) have argued that they are postnominal elements and not postpositions as they do not behave like typical postpositions e.g. they do not assign case. Osam, Duah, & Blay (2011) also argued this for Akan, stating that, some of the elements labelled as postposition in Akan should be treated as ‘relator nouns’ as they have not fully grammaticalized into postpositions yet.

Based on the data in Sekpele, I hold the view that the spatial and body part elements in Sekpele are not postpositions. They form a possessive construction with the nominal which precedes it. The nominal is the possessor while the spatial or body part element is the possessed NP. For instance, the prepositional phrase ‘**under the table**’ is conceptualized as ‘**LOC the table’s under**’ in Sekpele likewise the phrase ‘**on the table**’ as ‘**LOC the table’s top/body**’. I also hold the view that languages may differ in this subject, therefore each language should be analysed in their own right instead of generalising across languages.

In Sèkpele, placing the possessive particle *tò* between the NPs reiterates the fact that spatial and body part elements fit into a possessive construction. This is illustrated in:

- 248) **ufi** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **utsyə** **lə**
 ó = fí lè- *kplíbí nǎ- mǎ ó = tsyǎ lǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = put LOC
ɔpunu əmə kalo
 ò- *pùnú á- mǎ kálǎ
 NCL3 table CL3 the down
 ‘He put the pot under the table’ (Locative_nouns 9.1)

- 249) **ufi** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **utsyə** **lə**
 ó = fí lè- *kplíbí nǎ- mǎ ó = tsyǎ lǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = put LOC
ɔpunu əmə to kalo
 ò- *pùnú á- mǎ tò kálǎ
 NCL3 table CL3 the POSS down
 ‘He put the pot under the table’

- 250) **utsyə** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **lə** **dibu** **nəmə**
 ó = tsyǎ lè- *kplíbí nǎ- mǎ lǎ lé- *bú nǎ- mǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = put NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the LOC NCL5 hut CL5 the
to kama
tò kámà
POSS back
 ‘He placed the pot at the back of the hut’ (Locative_nouns 16.1)

- 251) **ufi** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **utsyə** **lə**
 ó = fí lè- *kplíbí nǎ- mǎ ó = tsyǎ lǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = put LOC
kama
 kámà
 back
 ‘He placed the pot at the back’ (Locative_nouns 17.1)

Examples 248 and 249 are semantically similar. What distinguishes them is that example 249 involves the possessive particle *tò* in the adpositional phrase while

example 248 is without it. Likewise, when we compare example 250 with 251, example 251 is without a possessor. The adpositional phrase consists of the preposition *lɔ* ‘LOC’ and its locative noun complement *kámà* ‘back’. It is erroneous to hold the view that *kámà* is a postposition. If this is so, the adpositional phrase would have a preposition and a postposition which would be competing for headship.

The possessive particle test involving the addition of the possessive particle illustrated above may fail in other languages such as Ewe. Whereas we can say that spatial and body part elements in Ewe have grammaticalized into postpositions, the same cannot be said about Sekpele and other GTM languages. Comparing Sekpele to other GTM languages, similar structures exist. A comparative study of the GTM languages could establish whether these elements are grammaticalizing into postpositions or not.

Sekpele has two true prepositions: the locative *lɔ* and the comitative *kú*. The locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express accompaniment and instrument. Other adpositional notions are expressed by verbs. They are expressed by means of a serial verb construction (see § 10.1.1). A summary of prepositions and verbs, and their functions is provided in Table 5.3:

Prepositions	Verbs	Function	Gloss	Source Gloss
<i>lɔ</i>		Locative	‘LOC’	
<i>kú</i>		Comitative	‘COM’	
	<i>tɔ</i>	Dative	‘for’	‘give’
	<i>tsyì</i>	Ablative	‘from’	‘come from’
	<i>yó</i>	Allative	‘to’	‘reach’
	<i>dúfɛ</i>	Allative	‘to’	‘arrive, enter’
	<i>yé</i>	Perlative	‘through’	‘walk’
	<i>fɛ</i>	Perlative	‘through’	‘surpass’

Table 5.3: Adpositional functions in Sekpele

Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. The noun phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP (see §5.1 and §5.2). This is illustrated in:

- 252) **kukuə kwankwã komə təkə lə ɔpunu əmə əsuə**
 kò- *kùá kwáńkwá kó- má tóká lǎ ò- *pùnú á- má əsúá
 NCL7 book green CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the body
 ‘The green book is on the table’ (Adjectives 11.1)

- 253) **lə eyu la , ele bəə**
 lǎ á= yù lá é= lè báə
 if 2SG.NOM.PST steal TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP
bakpe fə lə ɔbeke .
 bà= kpé fə lǎ ɔbèké
 3PL.NOM= put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
 ‘If you steal, it is necessary that they put you in a cage’ (Punishment 1.11)

- 254) **ebusu etsyi ntu ku ɔlotsyi .**
 à= bó- sù à= tsyí ntù kú ò- *lòtsyí
 2SG.NOM FUT go 2SG.NOM carry water with NCL3 drinking pot
 ‘You will go and carry water with a drinking pot’ (Buying_name 47.3)

- 255) **to lə mbə sə ku fə**
 tó lǎ ñ= bá sè kú fə
 start HORT 1SG.NOM= come sing with 2SG.ACC
 ‘Start and let me come and sing with you’ (Good_old_days 23.1)

Examples 252 and 253 consist of prepositional phrases involving the locative **lǎ**. Examples 254 and 255 on the other hand, involve the comitative **kú**. The prepositions take NPs as their complements. The NP in example 252 is a possessive construction involving the noun **ɔpunu** ‘table’ and its part **əsuə** ‘body’. The NPs in examples 253 and 254 are the nouns **ɔbèké** ‘cage’ and **ɔlòtsyí** ‘drinking pot’ respectively. The NP in example 255 is the pronoun **fə** ‘2SG.ACC’.

5.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpele. This chapter was divided into four sections: (1) simple noun phrases; (2) complex noun phrases; (3) conjoined noun phrases and (4) adpositional phrases.

A simple noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and it consists of a nominal head and its modifiers following it in the order qualifiers (adjectives), numerals, determiners and intensifiers. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. When adjectives occur in NPs, they either occur in direct apposition to the noun they modify or undergo a process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives, reduplicated verbs and adjectives derived from verb-like adjectives with the adjectival suffix *-a*, occur in apposition to the noun. On the other hand, verb-like adjectives, noun-like adjectives, and other derived adjectives can only occur in the noun phrase through the process of relativization. There are two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal numbers. Numerals occur after the adjective and before the determiner in a noun phrase. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system. Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers. Numbers used in counting are quite distinct from cardinal numbers as shown in Table 5.2. The number ‘one’ is distinct for all three number forms: *nùé* for counting, *(CM)-ní* for cardinal, and *tùtə* for ordinal numbers. The counting form for eight and nine are *yèní*, *nàsé* respectively which are also distinct from those of cardinal numbers which are *m̩fámflá* and *n̩wə̀nómbə́* respectively. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and it is prefixed with the class marker. Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers with the exception of first and last. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of

ordinal numbers. The suffix *-fɛ* is applied to the number two and three while the suffix *-lɛ* occurs elsewhere. Determiners include articles (definite and indefinite) and demonstratives. The definite article, indefinite article, proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative are prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the noun. Sekpele has a four-way contrast for demonstratives: *m̃fɔ̃*, *m̃fɔ̃*, *mɔ̃*, and *ñsɛ̃*. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. The other two are used to express proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants and entities in distal vicinity respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures. The intensifiers in Sekpele include *sàà* ‘each, every, any’, *àlɛ̀ɛ̀* ‘alone’, *hǎ́* ‘only’, *kónɔ̃* ‘really’, *kplónɔ̃* ‘alone’, only’, *kólá* ‘only’, *páá* ‘really, very much’, *tǎ́* ‘all’, *tè* ‘only’, *tètè* ‘simply’, *tsyá* ‘too, also’, *kénké* ‘all, completely’ and *pété* ‘all, completely’. They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They are made up of various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. All noun modifiers with the exception of the definite article and intensifiers have pronoun forms that can become the head of a noun phrase. These pronouns can also be modified.

Complex noun phrases in Sekpele include genitive or possessive construction and relative clauses. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possessive NPs are represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between them. This is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves the juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. Some kinship relations have both forms. Relative clauses are postnominal and they employ relative pronouns

which are portmanteau morphemes of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. There are two forms of the relativizer: (1) stative **n=** and (2) non-stative **lv=**. The relativizer differs depending on the TAM and vowel harmony of the verb. The relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization but is dropped in object relativization where the subject is a pronoun.

Conjoined NPs discussed in this chapter are conjunction and disjunction. Sekpele employs the comitative particle **kú** ‘and/with’ for NP conjunction and the particle **lěē** ‘or’ for NP disjunction. This chapter also discussed noun phrases within adpositional phrases.

Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. Sekpele has two prepositions: the locative **lɛ** and the comitative **kú**. The locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express accompaniment and instrument. A noun phrase within an adpositional phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP.

6 PRONOUNS

This chapter discusses pronouns in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are independent wordforms. For this reason, I have decided to treat this topic as a separate chapter. Section 6.1 discusses personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns, and object/oblique pronouns. Section 6.2 discusses possessive pronouns; section 6.3 discusses demonstrative pronouns; section 6.4 discusses relative pronouns; section 6.5 discusses interrogative pronouns; section 6.6 discusses indefinite pronouns; while section 6.8 discusses reciprocal pronouns.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Sekpele distinguishes between emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns with respect to personal pronouns. Sex-based gender does not play a role; however, there is an animacy contrast in the 3rd person. Although grammatical case is absent in nouns, there is a case distinction in pronouns: nominative, oblique/accusative, and genitive. The nominative and genitive pronoun forms are clitics that attach to verbs and nouns respectively. The nominative also varies depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. The accusative and the emphatic pronouns are independent word-forms that stand alone.

6.1.1 Emphatic pronouns

The function of the emphatic pronouns differs from that of the non-emphatics in that they can stand in isolation as an answer to a question introduced by the interrogative *òwòé* ‘who’ or *bé* ‘what’. They also appear in subject function in focus

constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Table 6.1 shows the set of emphatic pronouns in Sɛkpɛle:

	SG	PL
1	mô	bó/búð ²¹
2	fě	mìmí
3[+ animate]	wê	mámó
CL3/4	nyá ²²	mí ²³
CL5/6	ní/níní	
CL7/8	kó	
CL9/10	ké	
CL11/12	sé	

Table 6.1: Emphatic pronouns

When the emphatic pronoun occurs in a preverbal position, it may function as the subject of the clause, as in:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 256) | fə | lookate | | | ekeyifo | | lesa | | |
| | fð | lò = | ó- | kà- | té | à = | kà- | yífó | lè- *sá |
| | 2SG.PN | REL = | FUT | PROG | sell | 2SG.NOM | PROG | do | NCL5 thing |
| | nñ | faala | | | . | | | | |
| | nñ | fã = | á- | lá | | | | | |
| | cl5.DEF | 2SG.NOM = | HAB | wish | | | | | |
| | ‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’. | | | | | | | (Buying_name 58.2) | |

²¹ Bó and búð are free variants and they are used interchangeably.

²² Nyá is the default form.

²³ The plural classes are merged as one form.

The emphatic pronouns can occur in postverbal position. They often occur in comparative and coordinate constructions, as in:

- 258) **beyifo** **kplikplikpli nso** **mɔ** .
 bà= yífó kplíkplíkplí ò= só **mɔ̃**
 3PL.NOM= make near REL= become more **1SG.PN**
 ‘They are closer to each other than me’ (King_making 10.2)

- 259) **nya eso** [**difference**] **kpe lə mɔ ku wə to nti** .
 nyá ésô kpé lə **mɔ̃** kú wə tò òtí
 therefore exist LOC **1SG.PN** and **3SG.PN** POSS between
 ‘Therefore there is difference between me and him’ (King_making 8.5)

The effect of the emphatic pronouns is greatly felt in focus constructions where the object is placed in preverbal position, as in:

- 260) **lesanə lehra wə** , **mɔ wɔɔtə** .
 lèsàné lè= hiá wə **mɔ̃** wò= ó- tò
 something REL= need 3SG.ACC **1SG.PN** 3SG.NOM= FUT ask
 ‘Whatever he needs, it is me he will ask’ (King_making 10.3)

- 261) **wə beefi okankple**
wə bá= à- fí ó- *kánkplê
3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take NCL1 paramount chief
beefi **bəətə** .
 bá= à- fí bá= à- tó
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give
 ‘Him they had given the paramount chief’ (King_making 3.26)

The emphatic pronoun can also co-occur with its non-emphatic counterpart in the same clause, as in:

- 262) **eso mɔ nsi kesie minle**
 ésò mɔ̀ ñ = sí kèsíè m̀ì = n- lé
 therefore 1SG.PN 1SG.NOM = dwell doorway 1SG.NOM = EMPH hold
bɔtɛɪ nkə ənni nko beeyifo .
 bò- téyí ñkà è = n- ní ñkò bá = á- yífò
 NMLZ say that 3SG.NOM = NEG be like that 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB do
 ‘Therefore I was sitting at the doorway saying that, that was not how it is done’
 (Buying_name 34.8)

- 263) **mɔ se bəətəkə mə diye ote**
 mɔ̀ sé bá = à- tákə m̀ə dìyè ò- *tê
 1SG.PN when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV put on 1SG.ACC name NCL1 goat
ǎ maate fěě maaya kafia .
 ǎ mà = á- té fěě mà = á- yà kà- *fiá
 CL1.DEF 1SG.NOM = HAB sell before 1SG.NOM = HAB buy NCL9 cloth
 ‘Me, when I was given a name, goats I sell before I buy cloth’ (Buying_name 57.1)

The emphatic pronoun can also occur with its NP antecedent, as in:

- 264) **leleye bəətə leleyi nini kpe** .
 lè- *lèyè bá = á- tó lè- *lèyì níní kpé
 NCL5 birth-name 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give NCL5 birthday CL5.PN exist
 ‘The birth-name that is given in relation to a birthday exists’ (Naming_ceremony 30.1)

- 265) **ɔsɔnsate wə ni omankrado nnye kaso**
 ò- *sɔ̀ -n- *sàté wə ní ò- *mánkrədò ñnyè kà- *sɔ̀
 NCL1 land LIG owner 3SG.PN be NCL1 king making perhaps NCL9 land
kǎ to osate .
 kǎ tò òsàté
 CL9.DEF POSS owner
 ‘The landlord, he is the king maker or perhaps the owner of the land’ (King_making 3.21)

6.1.2 Subject pronouns

In Sekpele, subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They are proclitic in the sense that they are attached to the beginning of the verb. They vary depending on the TAM of the predicate they occur with. They are also influenced by vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. It is worth noting that tone plays a

part in the distinction of subject pronouns. Sekpele has a past/non-past distinction. A high tone signals a past tense while a low tone signals a non-past tense. A past tense pronoun can co-occur with the perfective or the anterior (present perfect) to form a past perfect and immediate past perfect respectively. Likewise, a non-past pronoun can co-occur with the future and prospective. Since the habitual does not have temporal restriction, it can co-occur with both past and non-past pronouns. When it co-occurs with a past pronoun, it gives the interpretation that the action or state of affairs used to occur in the past. Its occurrence with a non-past gives a general interpretation of habitual and it is viewed as the default. When a non-past pronoun occurs with the only verb or the first verb in a series, with no TAM indication anywhere in the clause or sentence, then the clause or sentence is said to be in the subjunctive mood. Table 6.2 shows the set of subject pronouns in Sekpele:

	HAB/PROSP	FUT	SUBJ/PRES.PRO G	PAST	PERF	ANT
1SG	mà =	mò =	ṇ =	ń =	-	mó =
2SG	fà =	è = /fò =	à =	á =	fá =	ó =
3SG[+ ANIM]	wà =	wò =	ò =	ó =	ó =	ó =
1PL	bò =	bò =	bò =	bó =	-	bó =
2PL	bè =	bè =	bè =	bé =	bé =	bé =
3PL	bà =	bò =	bà =	bá =	bá =	bó =
CL3/4	yà = /kà =	yò = /kà =	è = /kà =	é = /ká =	é = /ká =	yó = /ka =
CL5/6	lè = /yà =	lè = /yò =	lè = /è =	lé = /é =	lé = /é =	lé = /é =
CL7/8	kò = /yà =	kò = /yò =	kò = /è =	kó = /é =	kó = /é =	kó = /é =
CL9/10	kà = /bò =	kà = /bò =	kà = /bò =	ká/bó =	ká/bó =	ká = /bò =
CL11/12	sè = /bè =	sè = /bè =	sè = /bè =	sé/bè =	sé/bè =	sé = /bè =

Table 6.2: Subject pronouns

Table 6.2 shows the various forms of the subject pronoun in relation to number and the TAM they co-occur with. It seems 1PL and 2PL are the most consistent across all TAM with less segmental variation. All other pronouns vary segmentally and tonally. The use of the subject pronoun in the prospective is illustrated in:

- 266) **wəəbə** **kamə bəyɪmɪ**
wà = á- bə kàmó bó- yímì
 3SG.NOM = PROSP come rice NMLZ chew
 ‘He shall eat rice’ (Verbs 10.1)
- 267) **eye** **dinə** **ke** **baahɪa** **wə** **la** ,
 eye dínə ké bà = á- hǐá wə lá
 and the day any 3PL.NOM = PROSP need 3SG.ACC TOP
elebəə **ubə** .
 é = lè bəə ò = bə
 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = come
 ‘And any day they shall need him, it is necessary he comes’ (King_making 14.5)

The use of the subject pronoun in the future is illustrated in:

- 268) **lə** **beowǎ** **nnuə** **lə** **bitə** **lə**
 lə bə = ó- wǎ́ nnuə lə bə = tǎ lə
 if 2PL.NOM = FUT cook palm oil HORT 2PL.NOM = allow HORT
nte **lə** ... **nbə** **yifo** .
 ñ = tǝ lǎ ñ = bə yífó
 1SG.NOM = know HORT 1SG.NOM = come do
 ‘If you will make palm oil, let me know so I come and do it’ (Palm_oil 21.1)
- 269) **nya** **fuufi** **akpo** , **fěě** **foobaka**
 nyá fǝ = ó- fǐ à = kpó fěě fǝ = ó- báká
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT take 2SG.NOM pour before 2SG.NOM = FUT stir
sĩĩ .
 sǐĩ
 a while
 ‘Then you will pour it before you will stir for a while’ (Soap_making 25.1)

The subjunctive, as in (270) and the present progressive constructions as in (271), use the same pronoun forms by attaching it to the bare verb without any TAM. This is illustrated in:

- 270) **bəkɔse** **bɛɾ** **məmlə loo** .
bɛ= kɔsé **bɛ=** tí məmlá lóó
2PL.NOM= hurry **2PL.NOM=** crush quickly UFP
‘Hurry and crush quickly’ (Palm_kernel_oil 15.1)

- 271) **ɔle** **mfo bubə**
ò= lé m̩fô bo- bá
3SG.NOM= hold here NMLZ come
‘He is coming here’ (Adverbs 37.1)

The past pronouns are unique in the fact that they bear high tones. They may vary depending on whether they occur alone or they co-occur with the perfective or the anterior. This is illustrated in (272), (273) and (274) respectively:

- 272) **afo** **diye** **nǎ** **koŋ** .
á= fô lè- *yê nǎ kón
2SG.NOM.PST receive NCL5 name cl5.DEF really
‘You have received the name for real’ (Buying_name 12.3)

- 273) **lə kafia** **to** **dinə** **fəətə** **wə** tsya ,
lá kà- *fiá tò dínə fá= à- tá wə tsyâ
if NCL9 cloth POSS piece **2SG.NOM.PST=** PFV give 3SG.ACC too
ətə **wə** .
á= tá wə
2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC
‘If a piece of cloth you had given her too, you gave her’ (Buying_name 56.3)

- 274) **əbunyə** **kase** **Onanto** **lete** **bakoko**
á= bô- nyə kàsé ònántó lè= té bà- *kòkó
2SG.NOM.PST ANT see how Almighty God REL= show NCL2 ancient
asa ?
a- *sá
CL6 thing
‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’ (Punishment 1.9)

- As stated earlier, the habitual can occur with both past and non-past pronouns. Examples (277) and (278) illustrate the occurrence of the habitual with the past and non-past respectively:

- 191

- 278) **lə bələkə** **ubi** **ǽ** **lə lekple** ,
 lá bá = lókà ò- *bí ǽ là lèkplê
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = remove NCL1 child CL1.DEF LOC outside
bəətə wə diye lee ... nte lefe nǽ
bà = á- tá wè diyê léé ntè le- *fè nǽ
3PL.NOM = HAB give 3SG.ACC name or which NCL5 time CL5.DEF
bəətə ubi ǽ diye ...?
bá = á- tá ò- *bí ǽ diyê
3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF name
 ‘If the child is outdoored, do they give the child a name or which time do they give the child a name?
 (Naming_ceremony 23.1)

6.1.3 Object/oblique pronouns

This section discusses a set of pronouns used as object of the verb or oblique. They are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but differ in tone in some of its components. They especially differ in form and tone in the 1SG. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that they are free word-forms while the subject pronouns are bound to the verb of the clause as clitics. Table 6.3 shows the set of object/oblique pronouns in Sekpele:

	SG	PL
1	mə	bò
2	fə	mí
3[+ animate]	wə	mó
CL3/4	nyá ²⁴	mí
CL5/6	ní/níní	
CL7/8	kó	
CL9/10	ké	
CL11/12	sé	

Table 6.3: Object/oblique pronouns

²⁴ Nyá is the default form.

The use of these pronouns in object function is illustrated in:

- 279) **nya betidi luunya fə kaminse bəbə**
 nyá bà- *tídi lè= ó- nyə fə kàmínsə bà= bá
 then NCL2 person REL= FUT see **2SG.ACC** mercy 3PL.NOM= come
yankli fə .
 yáŋklî fə
 untie **2SG.ACC**
 ‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’ (Punishment 12.1)

- 280) **kə mfó to ama yǎ leke , lə**
 kə mfó tò à- *má yǎ lè= kè lə
 previously there POSS NCL6 war CL6.DEF REL= exist if
betsyi mi oka kple
 bá= tsyí mí ó- *ká kplê
 3PL.NOM.PST= carry 2PL.POSS NCL1 chief big
bedunko ko , bətəkə mi
 bá= dú -n- -kó kò bá= tókó mí
 3PL.NOM.PST= leave LIG ASSOC then 3PL.NOM.PST= be on **2PL.ACC**
 kato .
 kàtô
 top of
 ‘The wars that occurred previously, if they carry your big chief away then, they have conquered you’ (History_amankrado 3.44)

When the object pronouns occur in a clause that contains a phrasal verb, the pronoun occurs between the verb and its complement. This is illustrated in:

- 281) **kemi maaso mi anɪ**
 kəmí mà= á- só mí à- *nî
 that means 1SG.NOM= HAB hit **2PL.ACC** NCL8 arm
 ‘That means I thank you lit: I hit you in your hands’ (Soap_making 40.1)
- 282) **lə ukpə tsya esi wə kayo .**
 lə ó= kpó tsyâ à= sí wə kàyó
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= die too 2SG.NOM dwell **3SG.ACC** debt
 ‘Even if she dies, you owe her.’ (Buying_name 56.7)

Examples (281) and (282) contain the phrasal verbs *so anɪ* ‘thank’ and *si kayo* ‘owe’ respectively. In both cases, the object pronoun intervenes between the verb and its complement. Both (281) and (282) are external possessive construction where the possessor is maintained as the object and the possessee relegated as oblique without any preposition. The object pronouns in both examples may parse as possessors, however they will bear different interpretations. Example 281 will bear the interpretation ‘I hit your hands’ instead of ‘I hit you in your hands’. Likewise, example 282 will bear the interpretation ‘you owe her debt’ instead of ‘you owe her’. The object pronoun can also occur as the complement of the locative particle *lɔ* which is used for prepositional or locative constructions in Sekpele. This is illustrated in:

- 283) **kemi aye akpo lɔ litsyitsya , ufiebi so**
 kɛmí à= yɛ́ à= kpó lɔ̀ lè- tsyìtsyà ùfiébí só
 then 2SG.NOM filter 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL5 basket air blow
ekpo lɔ mi
 è= kpó lɔ̀ mí
 3SG.NOM pour LOC CL6.ACC
 ‘Then you filter and pour into a basket for air to blow onto it’ (Palm_kernel 4.6)

- 284) **əmbə busiə tsya lɔ ni** .
 à= n- bá bó- síá tsyâ lɔ̀ ní
 2SG.NOM NEG come FUT sit too LOC CL5.ACC
 ‘You won't even sit on it’ (King_making 2.39)

In Sekpele, the benefactor/goal precedes the theme in ditransitive clauses. Example 285 shows two pronouns in succession:

- 285) **diye** **nǎ** **foola** **nkə** **fuutə**
 lè- *yê nǎ fò = ó- lá níkə fò = ó- tó
 NCL5 name cl5.DEF 2SG.NOM = FUT love that 2SG.NOM = FUT give
fubi **la** , **ebutə** **wə** **ni** .
 f = ùbí lá à = bó- tó wə ní
 2SG.POSS = child TOP 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC CL5.ACC
 ‘The name you will love to give your child, you will give it to him/her’
 (Naming_ceremony 28.1)

Sekpele does not use prepositions to introduce a beneficiary/recipient as most languages in the region and across the world do (Andvik 2010:392; Bobuafor 2013:310; Dovlo 2008:201; Lord 1993:31). In cases where the theme precedes the beneficiary/recipient, an intervening verb such as the verb *tə* ‘give’, *boko* ‘bring’ and *kpo* ‘pour’ occurs between the object and the oblique. This is illustrated in:

- 286) a) **bookpo** **fə** **ubuki** **lə** **akpa**
 bò = ó- kpó fə ò- *bùkí lə á- *kpà
 3PL.NOM = FUT pour 2SG.ACC NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg
 ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet’ (King_making 2.34)
- b) **akpakpa** **mfó** **la** , **boola** **ubuki**
 ákpäkpà mǎfó lá bò = ó- là ò- *bùkí
 immediately there TOP 3PL.NOM = FUT cut NCL1 animal
bakpo **fə** .
 bà = kpó fə
 3PL.NOM = pour 2SG.ACC
 ‘Immediately right there, they will cut the throat of an animal before you’
 (King_making 2.31)
- 287) a) **wuutə** **fə** **ote** **nkə** **kətsyə** .
 wò = ó- tó fə ò- *tê níkə kà- tsyè
 3SG.NOM = FUT give 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat that INF keep
 ‘S/he will give you a goat to keep’ (Buying_name 12.4)

- b) **atabi ənsi te wooya ote**
 àtábí à- n- sí té wò= ó- yà ò- *tê
 money PFV NEG still be 3SG.NOM= FUT buy NCL1 goat
utə fə .
 ò= tá fə
 3SG.NOM= give **2SG.ACC**
 ‘Money isn't available for her to buy a goat for you’ (Buying_name 56.4)

- 288) a) **oboko bo bikə biəmə**
 ó= bókó bə- *ká bíá- má
 3SG.NOM.PST= bring **1PL.ACC** NCL12 item CL12 the
 ‘He brought us the items’ (Verbs 75.1)

- b) **se fənkə lə utə fə lə**
 sé fənkə lá ó= tá fə lá
 when assuming if 3SG.NOM.PST= give 2SG.ACC if
ole la , emufi
 ó= lé lá à= n- ó- fĩ
 3SG.NOM.PST= give birth TOP 2SG.NOM NEG FUT take
aboko wə loo .
 à= bókó wə lóó
 2SG.NOM bring **3SG.ACC** UFP
 ‘When assuming, if she gave you, if it procreates, you will not bring it to her’
 (Buying_name 58.1)

Examples (286), (287) and (288) consist of pairs of ditransitive sentences. The first of each shows a case where the benefactor precedes the theme while the second shows the inverse. In order to achieve the later, an additional verb is added to the clause to form a serial verb construction. The added verb precedes the ditransitive verb and it takes the object as its complement while the ditransitive verb takes the oblique as its complement.

6.2 Possessive pronouns

The set of possessive pronouns in Sekpele is distinguished by the fact that they all carry a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and they either stand alone or are attached to the noun they are procliticized to. There is no number distinction in the third person inanimate. Table 6.4 shows the set of emphatic possessive pronouns in Sekpele:

	SG	PL
1	mó	bó/búó
2	fě	mí/míí/mímí
3[+ animate]	wó	mómó
CL3/4	nyá ²⁵	mí/mímí
CL5/6	ní/níní	
CL7/8	kókó	
CL9/10	kéké	
CL11/12	sésé	

Table 6.4: Possessive pronouns

Example (289) illustrates a situation where the possessive pronoun is attached to the possessed constituent while (290) and (291) show an instance of independent possessive word forms.

²⁵ Nyá is the default form.

- 289) **nya eso ufi wanto to diye**
 nyá ésô ó = fĩ w = ántô tò diyê
 therefore 3SG.NOM.PST = take 3SG.POSS = father POSS name
utəkə fubi ã
 ó = táká f = ùbí á
 3SG.NOM.PST = put on 2SG.POSS = child CL1.DEF
faale
 fá = à- lé
 2SG.NOM.PST = PFV give birth
 ‘Therefore he placed his father's name on the child you had given birth to’
 (Naming_ceremony 31.4)

- 290) **oka əmə wuufi usuko**
 ó- *ká á- mǎ wò = ó- fĩ ò = sù -kó
 NCL1 chief CL1 the 3SG.NOM = FUT take 3SG.NOM = go ASSOC
wə betidi usu ɔtɛr mə .
wé bà- *tídi ò = sù ò = téyí mǎ
 3SG.POSS NCL2 person 3SG.NOM = go 3SG.NOM = tell 3PL.ACC
 ‘The chief will take the message to his people to tell them’ (History_amankrado 11.8)

- 291) **omankrado ufi anɪ okpe**
 ò- *mánkràdò ó = fĩ à- *nĩ ó = kpé
 NCL1 king making 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL8 arm 3SG.NOM.PST = put
nini kalɔ mə .
níní kálò mǎ
 CL5.POSS down like this
 ‘The king maker, he put his hands under it like this’ (King_making 2.40)

6.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In Sèkpele, demonstratives can be used in place of noun in specific discourse contexts where the noun is recoverable in that context. The demonstrative pronouns in Sèkpele can be grouped into two forms: neutral and emphatic demonstrative pronouns.

6.3.1 Neutral demonstrative pronouns

There are four types of demonstrative pronouns whose forms are determined by two factors: (a) degree of proximity/relative distance between speaker, listener and object referred to; (b) the morphological class to which the relevant noun belongs. There are demonstrative roots to which these factors apply: (i) *m̃f̃ò* ‘here’; (ii) *m̃f̃ó* ‘there’; (iii) *m̃é* ‘there’; and (iv) *ñsé* ‘yonder’. These roots can stand alone as independent pronouns or combine with personal pronouns, or noun class markers. The first form *m̃f̃ò* and its derivations signify proximity to speaker and may include the hearer if the hearer is close to the speaker. The second form *m̃f̃ó* and its derivations signify distance away from the speaker and may include proximity to hearer if the referent is close to the hearer. The third form *m̃é* signifies a relative distance from both speaker and hearer but also indicates that the referent is within sight and can be pointed at. The fourth form *ñsé* indicates distance beyond the reach of both the speaker and the hearer. Relatively, *m̃f̃ò* could be used for referents out of sight, for instance, a referent somewhere in the town of the speaker as opposed to one outside. Likewise *m̃f̃ó*, *m̃é*, and *ñsé* could be used for distal reference. A discussion of the use of demonstratives in noun phrases is provided in §5.1.1.3.3. The use of the demonstrative root as pronouns is illustrated in:

292)	osani		ketsyenkle	əmə		əbə		mfo	
	ò-		*sànî	kètsɛ̃ŋklè	á-	mɔ́	à-	bɔ́	m̃f̃ò
	NCL1	man	tall		CL1	the	PFV	come	here
	‘The tall man came here’					(Adjectives 22.1)			

293)	osani		əmə		dikulə		m̃f̃ó	əbə		mfo	
	ò-		*sànî	á-	m̃é	lè=	kúlá	m̃f̃ó	à-	bá	m̃f̃ò
	NCL1	man	CL1	the	REL=	become	tall	there	PFV	come	here
	‘The man who is tall over there came here’								(Adjectives 23.1)		

- 294) **ɔnkə** **ɛɛ** **bɔbɔ** **mə** .
 ɔnkə ɛ= lé bɔ- bɔ **mə**
 s/he say 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ get out **there**
 ‘He says it is coming out there’ (Palm_oil 15.1)
- 295) **lə** **betsyi** **fə** **mfoo** **befi** **fə**
 lá bá= tsyí fə **m̩fɔ** =ó bà= fí fə
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= carry 2SG.ACC **there** =TOP 3PL.NOM= take 2SG.ACC
besu **bətsyə** **lə** **kalekato** **to** **kabanto** **nse** **ken** .
 bà= sù bà= tsyè lə kálèkàtó tò kàbàntó **nsé** kén
 3PL.NOM= go 3PL.NOM= put LOC north area POSS outskirts **there** far
 ‘If they carry you from there, they will place at the farhermost outskirts of the north’
 (Punishment 7.1)

As already stated, the demonstrative root can be combined with other pronouns or noun markers to form demonstrative pronouns. Table 6.5 is the possible set of demonstrative pronouns in Sekpele:

	m̩fɔ	m̩fó	mə	nsé
1SG	mómfɔ	mómfó	mə əmə	mənsé
2SG	fómfɔ	fómfó	fə əmə	fənsé
3SG	wəmfɔ	wəmfó	wə əmə	wənsé
1PL	bómfɔ	bómfó	bə əmə	bənsé
2PL	mímfɔ	mímfó	mí əmə	mínsé
3PL	bàmfɔ	bàmfó	bà əmə	bənsé
CL3 (default)	nyàmfɔ	nyàmfó	nyàmə	nyənsé
CL5	nəmfɔ	nəmfó	nəmə	nənsé
CL7	kómfɔ	kómfó	kúəmə	kónsé
CL9	kámfɔ	kámfó	kómə	kánsé
CL10	bómfɔ	bómfó	bóəmə	bənsé
CL11	siəmfɔ	siəmfó	siəmə	siənsé
CL12	biəmfɔ	biəmfó	biəmə	biənsé

Table 6.5: Demonstrative pronouns

Table 6.5 contain distal forms of the first person pronouns. They are mostly used in narratives where speakers make reference to themselves at a particular time and location, in relation to the activity and circumstance in the narrative. For instance, a speaker may literally say ‘I over there was farming, dancing, saying, or sleeping’. The speaker may also express the 2PL pronoun by literally saying ‘We over there crossed the river to the other side’. The use of demonstrative pronouns is illustrated in:

- 296) **ɔni** **əbə** , **wɔ̃nse** **atsyɪmɪ**
 ò- *ní à- bɔ́ **wɔ̃** **ɲsé** à- tsyími
 CL1 one PFV come **3SG.REL.PRO there** PFV stay
 ‘One came, the other over there stayed’ (Verbs 340.1)
- 297) **bətsyuə** **edi** , **bānse** **ənə**
 ba- tsyuə à- dí **bǎ** **ɲsé** à- nè
 NCL2 some PFV eat **3PL.REL.PRO there** PFV drink
 ‘Some ate, those over there drank’
- 298) **gakee** , **bomfo** **kesum** **kamfó**
 gake = **bó=** **mfô** kà- *súm ká- mfó
 but =TOP **1PL.POSS= here** NCL9 service NCL9 that
kəmbə **bo** **mɔ̃ɔtɛɪ** .
 kà= n- bɔ́ bò mò= ó- téyí
 CL9.NOM= NEG exist 1PL.ACC 1SG.NOM= FUT say
 ‘But, with us here that service doesn't exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)
- 299) **utə** **mə** **nyamfo**
 ó= tɔ́ mə **nyàmɸô**
 3SG.NOM.PST= give 1SG.ACC **this**
 ‘He gave me this’ (Adverb 42.1)
- 300) **utə** **mə** **nyamfó**
 ó= tɔ́ mə **nyàmɸó**
 3SG.NOM.PST= give 1SG.ACC **that**
 ‘He gave me that’ (Adverb 43.1)

- 301) **esu** **aya** **n****te** **bomfo**
 á= sù á= yà n- *tè bó- mfó
 2SG.NOM.PST go 2SG.NOM.PST buy NCL10 wine CL10 that
etsyiko **kasò bamba** , **eyifo** **nəmfo**
 á= tsyì -kó kàsô bàmbà á= yífó **nə-** **mfô**
 2SG.NOM.PST come from ASSOC land another 2SG.NOM.PST do **CL5** **this**
mə
 mǎ
 like this
 ‘You went to buy that alcohol from another land, you did this like this’
 (History_amankrado 15.6)

6.3.2 Emphatic demonstrative pronoun

The only emphatic demonstrative pronoun in Sekpele is **ńkò** ‘like that’. It is illustrated in:

- 302) **nko** **beeyifo** **nnuəbi** **nə** .
ńkò bá= á- yífó n- *nùəbí ná
like that 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB make NCL10 oil really
 ‘That is how oil is made’ (Palm_kennel_oil 8.1)
- 303) **nya** **bəəsia** **lə** **kəmə** **kǎ** **nko** .
 nyá bá= à- sí -ə lə ká- *mə kǎ **ńkò**
 then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV LOC NCL4 town CL4.DEF **like that**
 ‘Then they settled in the towns like that’ (History_amankrado 3.16)
- 304) **lə** **besu** **bebikə** **to** **kama** **tsya** , **nko** **te**
 lǎ bá= sù bà= bíkǎ tò kámà tsyâ **ńkò** tè
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM= bury POSS back too **like that** only
biusə **əsə** **hǎǎ** **biyifo**
 bè= ó- sà á- *sə hǎǎ bè= yífó
 2PL.NOM= FUT sing CL8 song through to 2PL.NOM= do
bidunko
 bè= dú -n- -kó
 2PL.NOM= leave LIG ASSOC
 ‘After burial too, they will sing throughout while the performance continue’
 (Buying_name 31.4)

6.4 Relative pronouns

Relativity in Sekpele is expressed in two forms: a relative pronoun and relativizer. The first form consists of a relative pronoun which is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Sekpele has a set of independent relative pronouns which can stand alone or co-occur with other bound forms in the clause. The independent relative pronouns are identical to other pronouns already discussed but are unique by their rising tone. They also have forms representing the various noun classes. Examples 325 and 326 show the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL relative pronouns. Other relative pronoun forms are shown in Table 6.6:

- 305) **bǎ** **to** **aye** **bobǎ** **nsi** **mfo** **kola**
bǎ **tò** **à-** ***yê** **bòbǎ** **̀̀=** **sí** **̀̀fô** **kólá**
3PL.REL.PRO **POSS** **NCL6** **name** **1PL.REL.PRO** **REL=** **dwel** **here** **even**
lenyi **Onanto** **ate** **mə** **asa** **əmfô** .
lè= **n-** **yí** **̀̀nántó** **à-** **té** **mó** **à-** ***sá** **á-** **mfó**
REL= **NEG** **know** **Almighty God** **PFV** **show** **3PL.ACC** **CL6** **thing** **CL6** **that**
‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’
(Punishment 1.10)

- 306) **nya** **brɔ̀tɔ̀nɔ̀** **lə** **nya** : **bibǎ** **ni** **anto** **ku** **ambe**
nyá **bè=** **ó-** **tóǹ̀** **lè** **nyá** **bìbǎ** **ní** **ántô** **kú** **ám̀̀bê**
then **2PL.NOM=** **FUT** **agree** **LOC** **3SG.ACC** **2PL.REL.PRO** **be** **father** **and** **mother**
ku **ewumə** **kenke** **nya** **brɔ̀tɔ̀nɔ̀** .
kú **éwú** **-mâ²⁶** **ké̀̀kè** **nyá** **bè=** **ó-** **tóǹ̀**
and **grandmother** **PL** **all** **then** **2PL.NOM=** **FUT** **agree**
‘Then you will agree on it: all of you who are fathers, mothers and grandmothers will agree’
(Naming ceremony 31.5)

Table 6.6 shows the set of independent relative pronouns in Sekpele:

²⁶ The use of 3PL pronoun as a plural maker is a cross-linguistic phenomenon and can be found in Akan, Ewe and Ga. In Sekpele, it is restricted to kinship terms.

	SG	PL
1	mǎ	bòbǎ
2	fǎ	bìbǎ
3[+ animate]	ǎ/wǎ/wǎ	bǎ
Default (3/4)	ǎ/nyǎ	kǎ
CL5/6	nǎ	ǎ
CL7/8	kuǎ	ǎ
CL9/10	kǎ	buǎ
CL11/12	siǎ	bǐǎ

Table 6.6: Independent relative pronouns

Examples 307 and 308 illustrate relative pronouns represented in the same classes as the nouns they refer to:

- 307) **kemi læ keni kətsyua kpe læ bebe biəmə əsuə**
 kəmí lá kà- *ní ká- tsyúó kpé là bè- *bé bíá- má əsúə
 then if NCL4 dirt CL4 some exist LOC NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the body
la , **əbofle** **əbo** **ase**
 lá à= bó- flé è= bó à= sè
 TOP 2SG.NOM FUT sift 3SG.NOM= get out 2SG.NOM pick
bebe **biǎ** **lamba** **tsya** , **biǎ**
 bè- *bé biǎ là= n- bá tsyâ **biǎ**
 NCL12 palm kernel CL12.REL.PRO REL= NEG break too **CL12.REL.PRO**
yantɪ **nə** **ələkə** .
 yà= n- tí nó à- lókà
 3SG.NOM= NEG crush really SCR remove
 ‘Then if there is any dirt in the palm kernels, you will sift it out and pick the palm kernels
 which didn’t break too, those which didn’t really crush out’ (Palm_kernel_oil 2.6)

308)	kafia	koŋ	, kǎ	fakle		disi	buu	, wə	
	kà-	*fiá	kón	kǎ	fā =	klé	dísì	búú	wê
	NCL9	cloth	really	CL9.REL	2SG.NOM =	wrap	head	be different	3SG.PN
	kosate	to	kafia		buuləkə			bətə	
	kòsàté	tò	kà-	*fiá	bò =	ó-	lákə	bà =	tá
	ownself	POSS	NCL9	cloth	3PL.NOM =	FUT	remove	3PL.NOM =	give
	fə	.							
	fə								
	2SG.ACC								
	‘Real cloth, that which you wrap the head is different, her own cloth they will give you’								
	(Buying name 40.3)								

Examples 307 and 308 show independent relative pronouns in classes 12 and 9 respectively. In both cases, the independent relative pronouns are used alone with the bound counterpart. It seems the pronouns are portmanteau morphemes consisting of the demonstrative and the rising tone representing relativity.

The second form of expressing relativity in Sèkpele is the relativizer which is represented by *lè=* or *ḡ=* and prefixed to verbs. They occur in complementary distribution according to the ‘lexical aspect’ of the verb. The relativizer *ḡ=* co-occurs with all stative verbs while *lè=* co-occurs with all other verbs. The relativizer *lè=* has *lè=* and *ḡ=/dì=* as its variants due to vowel harmony, depending on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb they are attached to. *Lì=/dì=* are free variants in most dialects. The Tunkpas (Agbozume and Avedzeme) prefer to use *dì*. This is illustrated in:

309)	eso	se	Bakpelé			fefe	dibə	
	ésò	sé	bà-	*kpè	*lè	fɛfɛ	lè=	bá
	therefore	when	NCL2	Likpe person	own	remaining	REL=	come
	bə̀təkə̀nko						mə	
	bá=	à-	tákə̀	-n-	-kó		má	
	3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	follow	LIG	ASSOC		3PL.ACC	

beeti				kama		bəəbə			la	,
bá=	à-	tí	kámà		bá=		à-	bó	lá	
3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	track	back		3PL.NOM.PST=		PFV	come	TOP	
bəbə		tu	mə	lə	kubiə		kalo	.		
bá=	bó	tù	mó	ló	kò-	*bíə	kálə			
3PL.NOM.PST=	come	meet	3PL.ACC	LOC	NCL7	cave	under			
‘Therefore when the remaining Likpe people who had followed, and had come, they met them under a cave’										
(History amankrado 1.15)										

- 310) **ku nsusu bæə** , **Bekpi bā** **ditsyi mə ni**
 kú ñsùsú bǎə Bèkpí bǎ lè= tsyì mǎ ní
 with thought 3PL.COMP Hohoe 3PL.REL.PRO REL= come from 3PL.PN be
Pekifǒ bā libə siə lə Bekpi
 Peki -fǒ bǎ lè= bǎ síǒ lǎ Bèkpí
 Peki PL:PNLZ 3PL.REL.PRO REL= come dwell LOC Hohoe
baafiani Bekpi to betidi la , mǎmə tsya
 bá= à- fíǎni Bèkpí tò ba- *tídi lá mǎmǎ tsyâ
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV become Hohoe POSS NCL2 person TOP 3PL.PN too
ku Bakpelé bǎmə , banfo
 kú ba- *kpè *lè ba- mǎ bá= n- fǒ
 and NCL2 Likpe person own CL2 the 3PL.NOM.PST= NEG be able
budufǎ lə bətsyuə əsuə .
 bo- dúfǎ lǎ ba- tsyuǎ əsúə
 NMLZ enter LOC NCL2 some body
 ‘The reason is that, the Hohoe people who came from, the Peki people who came to dwell in
 Hohoe who have become Hohoe people, they and the Likpe people were not able to
 collaborate’
 (History amankrado 1.7)

Examples 309 and 310 are extracts from the same narrative. When we compare example 309 to 310, we can observe that the verb *bś* is attached with *dī=* and *lī=* respectively. Even when we compare the relativizer attached to *tsyĩ* ‘come from’ and *bś* ‘come’, both in 310, we can say they are used interchangeably and can conclude that they are free variants.

Both relative forms (relative pronouns and the relativizers) can occur separately or together in relative clauses (see §5.2.2 and §10.4). However, the relativizer has a

wider scope or context of usage which includes content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. The relativizer *le=* may vary depending on the TAM it occurs with. When the relativizer occurs with the bare verb, then it is either in the perfective or past. However, it varies elsewhere. For instance, *le=* is realised as *lo=/lo=/lu=* when it occurs with the future morpheme */o-/. The output of the relativizer in this case is the result of the relative pronoun copying the vowel of the future morpheme. Likewise, the relative pronoun is realised as *la=/le=/la=* when it occurs with the habitual morpheme */a-/. The use of the relative pronoun with the habitual morpheme is illustrated in:**

- 311) **uyifo** **utidi** **ǽ** **laano**
 ó= yífó ò- *tídì ǽ lè= á- nò
 3SG.NOM.PST= make NCL1 person CL1.REL.PRO REL= HAB hear
asa **kasò** ?
 à- *sá kàsò
 CL6 thing down
 ‘Is he the person who understands things?’ (King_making 2.20)

- 312) **lò** **eyo** **obayi** **ətsyuə** **lò** **Mate** **te**
 ló é= yó ò- *bàyì á- tsyúá ló Mate étè
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= reach NCL3 festival CL3 some LOC Mate then
bǎ **leesu** , **Bala to** **bale** **tsya esu** .
bǎ **lè=** **á-** **sù** Bálá tò ba- *lè tsyâ á- sù
3PL.REL.PRO **REL=** **HAB** **go** Bala POSS NCL2 own too **HAB** go
 ‘If it is time for a festival in Mate then they go, those of Bala also go’
 (History_amakrado 3.79)

- 313) **bamankrado** **ləətsyə** **oka** .
 bà- *mánkràdò lè= á- tsyè ó- *ká
 NCL2 king making REL= HAB put NCL1 chief
 ‘It is the king makers who enthrone a chief’ (King_making 1.1)

Examples 314 and 315 illustrate the occurrence of the relative pronoun with the future morpheme.

- 314) **lesanə nkpe ini lekpa nã nkpe**
 lèsàná ñ = kpé è = ní lé- *kpá nã ñ = kpé
 something REL = exist 3SG.NOM = be NCL5 custom cl5.DEF REL = exist
la , mɔ loote wə lee mɔ luuyifo
 lá mɔ lò = ó- té wə léé mɔ lò = ó- yífó
 TOP 1SG.PN REL = FUT show 3SG.ACC or 1SG.PN REL = FUT do
ntə wə lə umbə .
 ñ = tɔ wə lá ò = n- bá
 1SG.NOM = give 3SG.ACC if 3SG.NOM = NEG exist
 ‘Whatever exists which is the custom which exists, it is I who will show him or do it for him if he is not here’
 (King_making 10.5)

- 315) **wə ni utsyə laakpla lema lə utidi ku**
 wə ní ùtsyúè lè = á- kplá lè má lá ò- *tídi kú
 3SG.PN be somebody REL = HAB intervene war LOC NCL1 person and
utidi lee kalə ku kalə lee kaso ku kaso to nti bəə
 ò- *tídi léé kálè kú kálè léé kàsɔ kú kàsɔ tò ñtí bəə
 NCL1 person or clan and clan or land and land POSS between 3PL.COMP
mə la , wə ko ni utsyə looteɪ fěě diyuə
 mé lá wə kò ní ùtsyúè lò = ó- téyí fěě díyùè
 like this TOP 3SG.PN then be somebody REL = FUT say before peace
luubə
lè = ó- bá
REL = FUT come
 ‘He is the person who will intervene in conflict between persons, or between clans, or between lands, he then is the person who will say something before peace will prevail’
 (King_making 14.14)

As stated above, there is a variant of the relativizer **ñ =** which co-occurs with stative verbs such as **kpe** ‘have/exist’, **sia** ‘sit/dwell’, **nyə** ‘stand’, **le** ‘hold’, and the comparative **so** ‘be more’. This is illustrated in:

- 316) **udi diyibibi nã nkpe kalo**
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbi nã ñ = kpé kálò
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL = have bitter
 ‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’
 (Adjectives 85.1)

- 317) **timbli te ni nkə semankrado Akonto kale nle se**
 tíŋkplí tè ní n̄kə sè- *mánkràdò Akonto kálè ñ= lé sé
 short only be that NCL11 king making Akonto clan REL= hold CL11.ACC
budi .
 bó- dí
 NMLZ inherit
 ‘Briefly, king making, Akonto clan has been inheriting it.’ (History_amankrado 1.1)

6.5 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used in the formation of content questions, that is, questions requiring the identity of a person, place or object as an answer (Tamanji 2009:68). There are several interrogative pronouns in Sekpele which include *bé* ‘what’, *òwòé* ‘who’, *sìétí* ‘where’, *ñtsyá* ‘how’, *bésò* ‘why’, *ñtè* ‘which’, *ngbà* ‘where’, *àsìá/èsìá* ‘how much’ and *kúlàmánfè* ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns may stand alone in a clause while others may occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners (especially as demonstratives). There are also some pronouns that are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile.

6.5.1 Interrogative pronoun *bé* ‘what’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the identity of objects or state of affairs. It is very versatile such that it can occur anywhere in a clause or sentence without any distinction in meaning. This is illustrated in:

- 318) **be ni obeke ?**
bé ní òbèké
what be cage
 ‘What is ‘obeke’?’ (Punishment 2.1)

- 319) **eso ewu mɔmɔ be bikeyifo kɔ**
 ésò éwú mòmó **bé** bé= kà- yífó kô
 therefore grandmother now **what** 2PL.NOM.PST = PROG do previously
əmfó ?
 á- mfó
 CL that
 ‘Therefore grandmum, now, what were you (pl) doing in those old days?’ (Good_old_days 1.1)

- 320) **fə butu te ni be ?**
 fǎ bo- tú tè ní **bé**
 2SG.POSS NMLZ depose only be **what**
 ‘What will be your deposition exactly?’ (King_making 12.6)

6.5.2 Interrogative pronoun *òwòdé* ‘who’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the identity of a person. The plural form of this pronoun is *bàwòdé*. Unlike the interrogative pronoun *bé*, *wòdé* is restricted to clause-initial position. It may occur elsewhere especially as part of an itemized list, as in example 323. This is illustrated in examples:

- 321) **owoe leteyi nya ?**
òwòdé lè= téyí nyá
who REL= say 3SG.ACC
 ‘Who said it?’ (Adverbs 47.1)
- 322) **owoe likpə oo ewu likpə oo ukpə**
òwòdé lè= kpá oo éwú lè= kpá oo ó= kpá
who REL= to die UFP grandmother REL= to die UFP 3SG.NOM.PST= to die
tsya wənkpə tɔɔ ...
 tsyâ wá= n- kpá tɔ̂ =ɔ
 too 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG to die yet =UFP
 ‘Who died? Grandma died! She died too but she didn't die yet!’ (Buying_name 17.1)

- 323) **eso** **owoe** **læ̃tə** **ubi** **ǎ** **diye** :
- ésò òwòé lè = á- tó ò- *bí ǎ diyê
- therefore **who** REL = HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF name
- wanto** **lee wə** **ona** lee **woe** ?
- w = ántô léé wá ónâ léé **wòé**
- 3SG.POSS = father or 3SG.POSS grandfather or **who**
- ‘Therefore who gives the child a name: his father, his grandfather or who?’
- (Naming_ceremony 27.1)

6.5.3 Interrogative pronoun *ntè* ‘which’

This pronoun is used to emphasize the noun which is in focus in an interrogation. It precedes and occurs in apposition to the noun it modifies. Normally determiners and modifiers follow the head noun with the exception of genitives. We can say that the interrogative pronoun in this case acts like a genitive. This is illustrated in:

- 324) **nte** **lefe** **nǎ** **bə̃tə** **ubi** **ǎ**
- ntè** lé- *fè nǎ bá = á- tó ò- *bí ǎ
- which** NCL5 time cl5.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF
- diye** ?
- diyê
- name
- ‘What time do they give the child a name?’
- (Naming_ceremony 23.1)

- 325) **se** **baafo** **seka** **siǎ** **lə** **mimi**
- sé bá = à- fò sé- *ká siǎ lə mí mí
- when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV collect NCL11 chief CL11.DEF LOC 2PL.POSS
- konn** , **nte** **kale** **kǎ** **beefi**
- kò nî = ɪ **ntè** ká- *lè kǎ bá = à- fí
- hand = TOP **which** NCL9 clan CL9.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take
- seka** **siǎ** **bə̃tə** ?
- sé- *ká siǎ bá = à- tó
- NCL11 chief CL11.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give
- ‘When they had collected the chieftaincy from your hand, which clan had they given the chieftaincy to?’
- (History_amankrado 4.1)

6.5.4 Locative interrogatives *siétí/ ṅgbà* ‘where’

These pronouns are used to question the location of entities or state of affairs. While *sieti* is versatile and can occur anywhere in a clause or sentence, *ṅbe* is restricted to clause-final position. This is illustrated in:

- 326) **sieti osani əmə ntɔ ?**
 siétí ò- *sànî á- mó ò= tó
 where NCL1 man CL1 the REL= go towards
 ‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverbs 12.1)
- 327) **osani əmə tɔ sieti ?**
 ò- *sànî á- mó tó siétí
 NCL1 man CL1 the go towards where
 ‘The man is heading towards where?’ (Adverbs 13.1)
- 328) **ewu mɔ ote fəətə mə**
 éwú mó= ò- *tê fá= à- tó mə
 grandmother 1SG.POSS= NCL1 goat 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 1SG.ACC
 ṅgbà ?
 ṅgbà
 where
 ‘Grandma, where is my goat you had given me?’ (Buying_name 44.1)
- 329) **ntu fuutəkə ntutə akpo kolo**
 nítù fò= ó- táká òtùtá à= kpó kò- *ló
 water 2SG.NOM= FUT put on hot water 2SG.NOM pour NCL7 soda ash
 kuā , amantɛ mfó ṅgbà ?
 kuā á= n- à- n- téyí mfó ṅgbà
 CL7.DEF 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG say that where
 ‘It is water you will pour hot water on the soda ash. You didn't say that?’ (Soap_making 13.2)

Examples 326 and 327 show the use of *siétí* while examples 328 and 329 show the use of *ṅgbà*. The data show how versatile *siétí* is when we compare (326) to (327). Likewise, when we compare (328) to (329), we observe that *ṅgbà* is restricted to clause-final position. *ṅgbà* acts more like an emphatic demonstrative as in (329).

6.5.5 Procedural interrogative *ñtsyá* ‘how’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the procedure of an action or how a state of affairs came to be. Its occurrence is restricted to clause-initial position, as in:

- 330) **ñtsyá beeyifo** **bebenuabi** ?
ñtsyá bá = á- yífó bèbènuàbí
how 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB do kernel oil
 ‘How is palm kernel oil made?’ (Palm_kernel_oil 1.1)
- 331) **fə lekpaá nya ñtsyá iibə** **fěě bo**
 fə lèkpàkpà nyá **ñtsyá** é = à- bó fěě bó
 2SG.POSS hat then **how** 3SG.NOM.PST = PFV come before 1PL.POSS
betidi tsya lisi baataka mfo
 bà- *tídi tsyâ lè = sí bá = à- tákà ñfô
 NCL2 person too REL = still 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV rise here
beesu Kukurantumi ?
 bá = à- sù Kukurantumi
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV go Kukurantumi
 ‘Please, then how did it happen before our people had risen and gone to Kukurantumi?’
 (History_amankrado 12.1)

6.5.6 Rational interrogative *bésò* ‘why’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the reasons for the occurrence of an action or state of affairs. This pronoun only occurs at clause-initial position, as in:

- 332) **beso osani əmə dibə**
bésò ò- *sànî á- mó lè = bó
why NCL1 man CL1 the REL = come
 ‘Why did the man come?’ (Adverbs 33.1)
- 333) **beso ɔɛ keku**
bésò ò = lé kèkú
why 3SG.NOM = hold cry
 ‘Why is he crying?’ (Adverbs 34.1)

- 334) **beso bæəsənsə** ?
bésò bà = á- sánsə
why 3PL.NOM = HAB scatter
 ‘Why do they scatter?’ (Naming_ceremony 21.2)

6.5.7 Quantitative interrogative *àsìá/èsìá* ‘how much’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the quantity or price of entities. When the price of an entity is in question, *àsìá* is used and it occurs at clause-initial position. *Èsìá* on the other hand is used for finding out the quantity of entities. It functions as a determiner and therefore occurs after the head noun. The entire constituent of the noun phrase occurs in clause-initial position. This is illustrated in:

- 335) **asia** **ofo** **iitə**
àsìá ó = ò- fó é = à- té
how much 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT pay 3SG.NOM.PST = PFV give
kafia **kəmə**
 kà- *fiá ká- mó
 NCL9 cloth CL9 the
 ‘How much did he pay for the cloth?’ (Adverbs 28.1)

- 336) **bekusesiəle** **esia** **nkpe** **wə**
 bə- *kùsé *síð *lè **àsìá** ñ = kpé wə
 NCL12 chicken female own **how much** REL = exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘How many hens does he have?’ (Adverbs 29.1)

- 337) **basani** **esia** **dibə**
 bà- *sànî **àsìá** lè = bó
 NCL2 man **how much** REL = come
 ‘How many men came?’ (Adverbs 30.1)

6.5.8 Time interrogative *kúləmámfè* ‘when’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the time of an event or the time a state of affairs came into existence. My intuition of the language shows that this

pronoun is very versatile and occurs anywhere in a clause or sentence. This is probably due to the fact that it is derived from the adverb of time *léfè* and functions as an adverb. However, there is not enough data to show its full versatility. The only data in the corpus available show its occurrence in clause-initial position, as in:

- 338) **kuləmanfe osani əmə luubə** ?
kúləmánfè ò- *sànî á- mǎ lè= ó- bǎ
when NCL1 man CL1 the REL= FUT come
 ‘When will the man come?’ (Adverbs 19.1)

- 339) **kuləmanfe fuudu** ?
kúləmánfè fǝ= ó- dú
when 2SG.NOM= FUT leave
 ‘When will you leave?’ (Adverbs 20.1)

6.6 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns stand for or replace a NP in which the noun is unknown or unspecified (Soukka 2000:107). Sekpele has an indefinite root morpheme *tsyúǎ* just as it has a definite root morpheme *mǎ* and both forms are very productive such that, the various class markers can be attached to them to form words belonging to those classes. Examples of such words include *ùtsyúǎ*, *ətsyúǎ*, *bətsyúǎ*, *kətsyúǎ*, *sìtsyúǎ*, and *dìtsyúǎ* for the indefinite and *əməǎ*, *bəməǎ*, *kəməǎ*, *síəməǎ* and *nəməǎ* for the definite.

	SG	PL
CL1/2	ùtsyúǎ	bətsyúǎ
CL 3/4	ətsyúǎ	kətsyúǎ
CL 5/6	dìtsyúǎ	ətsyúǎ
CL 7/8	kùtsyúǎ	ətsyúǎ
CL 9/10	kətsyúǎ	bùtsyúǎ
CL 11/12	sìtsyúǎ	bìtsyúǎ

Table 6.7: Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite morpheme can also be contracted to the word *lèsá* ‘thing’ to form *lèsátsyúə*²⁷ ‘something’. The indefinite root can be attached with the lexical negative morpheme *ko-* to form the negative indefinite pronouns *kùtsyúə* ‘nobody’ which is used in negative constructions (see §7.5.3).

6.6.1 Animate indefinite pronouns

These are represented by the words *utsyua* ‘somebody’ and *bətsyua* ‘some people’.

They are only used for animate referents, as in:

- 340) *utsyua mendi lesa*
 ò- tsyúə n- à- n- dí lèsá
 NCL1 some NEG PFV NEG eat food
 ‘Somebody didn't eat food’ (Verb_morph 60.1)

- 341) *bətsyua mantaka lə məmə ayo*
 bà- tsyúə n- à- n- tákà lə məmə a- *yó
 NCL2 some NEG PFV NEG get up LOC 3PL.POSS NCL6 house
 ‘Some people didn't get up from their house’ (Verb_morph 62.1)

The animate indefinite pronouns can co-occur with possessive pronouns. When this happens, both pronouns are sometimes fused together to a word meaning ‘the possessor’s person’. This is illustrated in:

- 342) *manle futsyua to kaso afo*
 n- à- n- lé f= ùtsyúə tò kàsô à= fò
 NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM receive
 ‘Don't seize somebody's land’ (Punishment 1.1)

²⁷ The full phrase is *lesa ditsyua*

- 343) **futsyə** **wookpadi** **nkə ofaa** ,
f= **ùtsyúà** **wò=** **ó-** **kpádí** **ńkè** **òfà** **=à**
 2SG.POSS= somebody 3SG.NOM= FUT call that maternal uncle =TOP
bofo **wə** **diye** **bubə** **butə** .
bó- **fó** **wə** **diyê** **bó-** **bá** **bó-** **tá**
 FUT be able 3SG.ACC name FUT come NMLZ give
 ‘Somebody s/he will call uncle, will be able to give him/her a name’ (Naming_ceremony 29.2)

6.6.2 Inanimate indefinite pronouns

There are two forms of inanimate indefinite pronouns in Sekpele. The first consists of a compound of the noun *lèsá* ‘thing’ and the indefinite root *tsyúá*. The second form consists of a derivation for the various noun classes by prefixing the class markers to the indefinite root *tsyúá*. Examples (344) – (346) illustrate some of the indefinite pronouns in Sekpele:

- 344) **ɔle** **oka** **əmə** **lesatsyua** **bətəyi**
ò= **lé** **ó-** ***ká** **á-** **mó** **lèsá** **tsyúá** **bó-** **téyí**
 3SG.NOM= hold NCL1 chief CL1 the thing INDEF NMLZ say
 ‘He is saying something to the chief’ (Verbs_135.1)
- 345) **bənyə** **bənkə** **nbukubi** **bua ku kətsyua**
bá= **à-** **nyà** **bənkə** **ń-** ***bùkùbí** **búà** **kú** **kà-** **tsyúá**
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
əmbə **yookpe** **mə** **bulə** **lə**
à- **n-** **bá** **yò=** **ó-** **kpé** **mó** **bó-** **lè** **lé**
 PFV NEG exist 3SG.NOM= FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
kəsiəkə **kəmə**
kà- **síə** **-kó** **ká-** **mó**
 NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
 ‘They had seen that there aren’t any bad insects and others which will worry them in the place’
 (History_amankrado 3.98)

- 346) **ditsyuə** **lə bəṭə** **wə** **diye** **nəmfó** **la** ,
le- **tsyuá** **lá bá=** **tá** **wà** **lè-** ***yê** **nó-** **mfó lá**
CL5 **INDEF** if 3PL.NOM.PST = give 3SG.ACC NCL5 name CL5 that TOP
ni **tsya ko** **laabe** **wə** **kato** **nə** .
ní **tsyâ kò** **lè=** **á-** **bé** **wà** **kàtô** **nó**
CL5.PN too then REL = HAB raise 3SG.ACC top of really
‘Perhaps if they gave him that name, it is it too which will really be popular’
(Naming_ceremony 32.1)

6.7 Reciprocal pronouns

There are no specific wordforms for reciprocation in Sèkpele. There are three ways by which reciprocation may be realised. The first way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun *bəṭsyúá* occurs alone in a clause. It may either occur as the complement of a verb or the preposition *lə*, as in:

- 347) **lekanka** , **nya** **buufi** **batsya** **sitsyə**
lèkànká **nyá** **bò=** **ó-** **fí** **bà=** **tsyà** **sè-** ***tsyó**
sword 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM = FUT take 3PL.NOM = scribble NCL11 three
nya fěě **bookā** **ntam** **bəṭə** **bəṭsyuə**
nyá fěě **bò=** **ó-** **kā** **ntám** **bà=** **tá** **bà-** **tsyúá**
then 3PL.NOM = FUT swear oath 3PL.NOM = give NCL2 INDEF
ofiani **umənka** .
ò= **fíánì** **ó-** ***mè** **-n-** ***ká**
3SG.NOM = become NCL1 town LIG chief
‘Sword, it is what they will take to scribble three times, then they will swear an oath to each other to become the town chief’
(King_making 4.1)
- 348) **beedi** **lə** **bəṭsyuə** **kakpe** **bəṭsyuə** .
bà= **á-** **dí** **ló** **bà-** **tsyúá** **kà-** **kpé** **bà-** **tsyúá**
3PL.NOM = HAB feast LOC NCL2 INDEF INF put NCL2 some
‘They feast among themselves’
(History_amankrado 3.78)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 349) | fuufi | | | ntu | əyuə | | zɔ̃ | abaka | |
| | fò = | ó- | fĩ | ńtù | à = | yúá | zɔ̃ | à = | báká |
| | 2SG.NOM = | FUT | take | water | 2SG.NOM | sprinkle | now | 2SG.NOM | stir |
| | atsyakasə | | | itsyə | | seke | əkobe | | lə |
| | à = | tsyáká | -sə | è = | tsyə | séké | è = | kóbé | lɔ́ |
| | 2SG.NOM | mix | CAUS | 3SG.NOM = | stay | few | 3SG.NOM = | hold | LOC |
| | bətsyuə | | | | | | | | |
| | bà- | tsyúá | | | | | | | |
| | NCL2 | INDEF | | | | | | | |
| | ‘You sprinkle water now and stir to mix for a while to hold each other’ (Soap making 28.3) | | | | | | | | |

The second way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun

bàtsyúé co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns. This is illustrated in:

- 350) **məmfo** **Ntini** **ku** **Samba** , **məmə** **ni** **Tunkpa** **kusə** **to**
mó mfō Ntini kú Samba mómó ní Tunkpa kúsó tò
3PL.POSS this Ntini and Samba 3PL.PN be Tunkpa group set POSS
bã **leedi** **kəṭə** **mə** **bə́tsyuo** .
bǎ lè = á- dí kà- tó **mó** **bà-** **tsyúá**
3PL.REL.PRO REL = HAB inherit INF give **3PL.POSS** **NCL2** **some**
‘These ones Ntini and Samba, they are those who inherit among themselves for the Tunkpa
group set’
(History amankrado 3.39)

- 351) **Mate tsya Aloh ku Lombue , məmə tsya , leedi kətə**
 Mate tsyâ Aloh kú Lombue məmă tsyâ lè = á- dí kà- tá
 Mate too Aloh and Lombue 3PL.PN too REL = HAB inherit INF give
mə bətsyuə .
mə bà- tsyúə
3PL.POSS NCL2 some
 ‘Mate too, Aloh and Lombue, they too inherit among themselves’ (History amankrado 3.39)

The third way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun

bətsyúʂ co-occurs in apposition with the noun *əsuʂ* ‘body’. This is illustrated in:

- 352) **Pekifo** **bā** **libə** **siə** **lə** **Bekpi** **lee**
Peki -fɔ bǎ́ lè = bó síɔ́ là Bèkpí léé
Peki PL:PNLZ CL2.DEF REL = come dwell LOC Hohoe or
bensi **lə** **Bekpi** **baafiani** **Bekpi**
bà = n- sí ló Bèkpí bá = à- fíàni Bèkpí
3PL.NOM = EMPH dwell LOC Hohoe 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV become Hohoe
to **betidi** **la** , **məmə** **tsya** **ku** **Bakpelé** **bəmə**
tò bà- *tídi lá mómó tsyâ kú bà- *kpè *lè bá- mó
POSS NCL2 person TOP 3PL.PN too and NCL2 Likpe person own CL2 the
, **banfo** **budufə** **lə** **bətsyuə** **əsua** .
bá = n- fó bó- dúfɔ́ ló bà- tsyuá əsúá
3PL.NOM.PST = NEG be able NMLZ enter LOC NCL2 some body
‘The Peki people who came to dwell in Hohoe or those dwelling in Hohoe who have become
Hohoe people, they and the Likpe people were not able to collaborate’
(History amankrado 1.7)

- 353) **mfó lekpe** **Bala ku Mate** , **lee Akontokrom ku Abladifo**
 m̀fó lè= kpé Bálá kú Mate léé Akontokrom kú Abladi -fó
 there REL= put Bala and Mate or Akontokrom with Abladi PL:PNLZ
bəmə , **mfó lekpe** **məmə bulə** **lə bətsyue əsue**
 bá- ḿ m̀fó lè= kpé ḿḿ b́- lə ĺ **bà-** **tsyúə əsúə**
 CL2 the there REL= put 3PL.POSS NMLZ worry LOC **NCL2** **some body**
 ‘It was that which put Bala and Mate, or the Akontokrom and Abladi people into their conflict
 among themselves’
 (History amankrado 3.63)

6.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the pronouns found in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are individual wordforms. Section 6.1 discussed personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns, and object/oblique pronouns. Emphatic pronouns differ from that of the non-emphatic in that they can stand in isolation and they are used as subject in focus constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They are proclitic in the sense that they are prefixed to the verb. They also vary depending on the TAM they occur

with and they are also influenced by the vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. Object/oblique pronouns are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but however differ in tone in some of their components. They also differ in form and tone in the 1SG. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that, they are free word-forms while the subject pronouns are bound to the verb of the clause.

Section 6.2 discussed possessive pronouns in Sekpele which are distinguished by the fact that they all possess a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and they either stand alone or are prefixed to the noun they possess as proclitics. Section 6.3 discussed demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns in Sekpele can be grouped into two forms: neutral and emphatic demonstrative pronouns. There are four types of neutral demonstrative pronouns whose forms are determined by two factors: (a) degree of proximity/relative distance between speaker, listener and object referred to; (b) the morphological class to which the relevant noun belongs. The demonstrative roots include (i) *m̃fɔ* ‘here’; (ii) *m̃fɔ* ‘there’; (iii) *mɔ* ‘there’; and (iv) *nsɛ* ‘yonder’. These roots can stand alone as independent pronouns; combine with personal pronouns, or noun class markers. The only emphatic demonstrative pronoun in Sekpele is *nkɔ* ‘like that’.

Section 6.4 discussed relative pronouns. Relativity in Sekpele is expressed in two forms: a relative pronoun and relativizer. The first form consists of a relative pronoun which is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. The second form of expressing relativity in Sekpele consists of a relativizer which is represented by *lɛ=* or *n=* and prefixed to the verbs. The relativizer *n=* co-occurs with stative verbs while *lɛ=* co-occurs with all other verbs.

The relativizer *lè=* varies due to TAM and vowel harmony which depends on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb they are attached to.

Section 6.5 discussed interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns in Sekpele include *bé* ‘what’, *òwòé* ‘who’, *siétí* ‘where’, *ńtsyá* ‘how’, *bésò* ‘why’, *ńtè* ‘which’, *ńgbà* ‘where’, *àsiá/èsìá* ‘how much’ and *kúlémánfè* ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns stand alone in a clause while others occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners especially as demonstratives. Some pronouns are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile. Section 6.6 discussed indefinite pronouns. Sekpele has an indefinite root morpheme *tsyúś* which is prefixed by class markers, the noun *lèsá* ‘thing’ or the lexical negative morpheme *ko-*. When the indefinite root is prefixed with classes 1 and 2, the resultant word is animate with the meanings ‘somebody’ and ‘some people’ respectively. All other classes are inanimates. Finally, Section 6.7 discussed reciprocal pronouns. There are three ways by which reciprocation may be realised: the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* occurs alone in a clause; the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns; or the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* co-occurs in apposition with the noun *àsúś* ‘body’.

7 VERB STRUCTURE AND VALENCY

This chapter systematically describes the structure of the Sɛkpɛlé verb. It also discusses verbs and valency. Sɛkpɛlé is an agglutinating language with some fusion. This means that the language incorporates syntactic and semantic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, association and causation. Also of interest is the fact that the affixes and tone of the verb are sensitive to whether the grammatical subject is a pronominal clitic or an independent noun phrase.

Section 7.1 provides an overview of the inflectional structure of Sɛkpele verbs. Section 7.2 discusses verbs and valency. Section 7.2.1 discusses the semantic classes of verbs and valency while section 7.2.2 discusses syntactic valency.

7.1 Structure of the Sɛkpele verb

As an agglutinative language, Sɛkpele has verbal words consisting of a verb root plus as many as four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. Table 7.1 shows the maximum scope of the verbal word but note that not all affixes necessarily occur in a given verbal construction. The table shows a linear hierarchy consisting of a series of slots or positionally-defined categories which are filled by a set of paradigmatically related forms. The verbal root is the only stable core of the verb word and is obligatory. The pre-verbal and post-verbal positions are optional and are filled when the need arises.

	Pre-verbal Domain							Verbal base	Post-verbal Domain
Slot name	Pre-initial	Initial	Post-initial	Aspect and polarity			Infinitive and emphatic	Root	verbal extension
Slot fillers	HORT	SPM	NEG 1		perfective	anterior	NEG 2	V	causative
		REL	NEG 1		imperfective	posterior			associative
			NEG 1				PROG		non-stative
							INF		
							EMPH		

Table 7.1: The structure of the Sekpelé verbal word

7.1.1 Pre-verbal domain

Table 7.1 shows that there are five slots before the verbal root. The five main slots produce a total of seven slots, where the aspect and polarity slot is sub-divided into perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior in the first slot, NEG 2 in second slot, and progressive in the third slot. They do not occur simultaneously. Some of them are mutually exclusive and contrastive. For instance, the element in the initial slot makes a contrast between the subject pronominal marker (SPM) and the relativizer (REL). Similarly, there is a contrast between the perfective and imperfective aspects, and between the anterior and posterior. Contrasting pairs cannot co-occur.

7.1.1.1 The pre-initial position

The slot of the pre-initial position is occupied the hortative marker /lə/ which enters into a form of contraction or fusion with the SPM, especially in colloquial speech.

This is illustrated, as in:

- 354) [fə lekpaɐ]²⁸ , lə ntɔ fə loo .
 fə ləkpaɐpà lɔ n̩ = tɔ fə lóó
 2SG.POSS hat HORT 1SG.NOM = ask 2SG.ACC INTERJ
 ‘Please, let me ask you a question!’ (History_amankrado 10.1)

In colloquial speech, (354) can be represented as (355):

- 355) fə lekpaɐ , lntɔ fə loo .
 fə ləkpaɐpà lɔ = n̩ = tɔ fə lóó
 2SG.POSS hat HORT-1SG.NOM = ask 2SG.ACC INTERJ
 ‘Please, let me ask you a question!’

²⁸ ‘fə lekpaɐpa’ is a phrase used for polite or apologetic statements in Sekpele. Similar phrases occur in neighbouring languages across the region. For instance, the Ewe, Akan and Ga equivalent are ‘mede kuku’, ‘mi paw wu kyew’ and ‘min kpa bo faɪ’. Although they literally mean ‘I remove your haɪ’, they are used for making polite or apologetic statements.

7.1.1.2 The initial position

This slot is occupied by a subject pronominal marker (SPM) or a relativizer (REL).

The SPM occurs obligatorily in the absence of an NP subject in a declarative statement. The REL occurs in relative constructions immediately following the head, as in:

- 356) **eboba** **nyã** **lemo**
 à= bó- bá nyã lè= m̀̀
 2SG.NOM FUT break 3SG.REL.PRO REL= become big
 ‘You will break those which are big.’ (Soap_making 28.1)

- 357) **ebose** **nyã** **lemo** **kenke aba**
 à= bó- sè nyã lè= m̀̀ kénké à= bá
 2SG.NOM FUT pick 3SG.REL.PRO REL= become big all 2SG.NOM break
 ‘You will gather all those which are big and break them.’ (Soap_making 28.1)

- 358) **fuufi** **ntu** **əyuə** **zĩ** **abaka**
 f̥= ó- fí n̥tù à= yúá zĩ à= báká
 2SG.NOM= FUT take water 2SG.NOM sprinkle now 2SG.NOM stir
atsyakasə **itsyə** **seke** .
 à= tsyáká -sə é= tsyè séké
 2SG.NOM mix CAUS 3SG.NOM= stay few
 ‘You sprinkle water now and stir it to mix for a while.’ (Soap_making 28.3)

7.1.1.3 The post-initial position

This position is occupied by the first negative marker which is referred to as ‘NEG 1’. It occurs just after the SPM and before any TAM. ‘NEG 1’ has the same segmental structure as ‘NEG 2’. The negative marker is the most versatile element in the verbal word and the choice of its position is based on the subject and TAM category. ‘NEG 1’ may mostly occur in a doubly marked negated construction with ‘NEG 2’, as in:

- 359) **amanye** **lə** **afi** **ǽ**
 á= **n-** à- n- yé **lə** á- fi **ǽ**
 2SG.NOM.PST **NEG 1** PFV **NEG 2** walk LOC NCL8 rule CL8.REL.PRO
nkpe **lə** **lekpa** **nǽ**
 ñ= kpé ló lé- *kpá nǽ
 REL= exist LOC NCL5 custom cl5.DEF
əsua bəətə **fə**
 əsúə bá= à- tó fə
 top of 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give 2SG.ACC
 ‘You haven’t walked according to the rules which exist in the custom they had given you.’
 (King_making 12.10)

- 360) **bəmufi** **baboko** **mə** .
 bà= **n-** ó- fí bà= bókó mə
 3PL.NOM= **NEG 1** FUT take 3PL.NOM= bring 1SG.ACC
 ‘They will not bring it to me’ (Buying_name 59.1)

7.1.1.4 Aspect and polarity

There are four slots that are occupied by perfective/imperfective, anterior/posterior, ‘NEG 3’ and the progressive. There is a tonal contrast between the perfective and the imperfective, and between the anterior and the posterior. The morpheme for the perfective is /à-/ while that of the imperfective is /á-/. The imperfective is subcategorised into the habitual and the prospective, as in:

- 361) **osani** **əmə** **asmɪ** **siku** **siəmə**
 ò- *sànî á- mǎ à- sínì sè- *kú síǎ- mǎ
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV open NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘The man opened the door’ (Verbs 88.1)

- 362) **wəəbə** **lefenəkə** **waala**
 wà= á- bó lèfènékǎ wà= á- lá
 3SG.NOM= **HAB** come whenever 3SG.NOM= **HAB** want
 ‘He comes whenever he wants to’ (Adverbs 22.1)

- 363) **wəəbə** **kamə bəymɪ**
 wà = **á-** bá kàmó bó- yímì
 3SG.NOM = **PROSP** come rice NMLZ chew
 ‘He shall eat rice’ (Verbs 10.1)

On the other hand, the morpheme for the anterior is /(b)ð-/ while that of the posterior is /(b)ɔ-/. The anterior functions like the English ‘perfect’ construction such that it involves a past event with current relevance. The posterior is analysed as the future due to its function.

- 364) **buudi** **lesa** **tsyafɛɛ** **kukpənsɛ** **le** **bo**
 bó = **ð-** dí lè- *sá tsyáfɛ́ɛ́ kùkpə̀nsé lé bò
 1PL.NOM.PST = **ANT** eat NCL5 thing however hunger hold 1PL.ACC
 ‘We have eaten, however, we are still hungry’ (Adverbs 27.1)

- 365) **əbunyə** **kase** **Onanto** **lete** **bakoko**
 á = **bð-** nyə kàsé ònántó lè = té bà- *kòkó
 2SG.NOM.PST **ANT** see how Almighty God REL = show NCL2 ancient
asa ?
 à- *sá
 CL6 thing
 ‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’ (Punishment 1.9)

- 366) **lə ebe** **la** , **əbunyə** **fenkə** **ntu**
 lá é = bé lá à = **bó-** nyə fè nkə ntù
 if 3SG.NOM = be cook TOP 2SG.NOM **FUT** see like that water
əmbə **lə nya**
 à- n- bó lá nyá
 PFV NEG exist LOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘If it is cooked, you will see that there is no water in it’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.2)

- 367) **lesa** **nǎ** **buufi** **beyifo**
 lè- *sá nǎ bò = ó- fĩ bà = yífó
 NCL5 thing cl5.DEF 3PL.NOM = **FUT** take 3PL.NOM = do
luuləkə **ete** **te** **bəə** **booboko**
 lò = ó- ləkə é = té tè báə bò = ó- bókó
 REL = **FUT** reveal 3SG.NOM = show only they say 3PL.NOM = **FUT** bring
otodi .
 òtòdì
 palm frond
 ‘The thing which will only reveal it is that they will bring palm frond’
 (History_amankrado 3.48)

The ‘NEG 2’ occupies the negative slot closest to the verb root. It may occur in a double negated construction with ‘NEG 1’ as in (359), (368) and (369). It however precedes the progressive, as in (370):

- 368) **diyibibi** **nəmə** **manse**
 le- yìbíbí n- m- n- à- n- sé
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the NEG 1 PFV **NEG 2** ripe
 ‘The fruit is unripe’ (Verbs 349.1)
- 369) **kuyu mambə** .
 kúyù n- à- n- b-
 theft NEG 1 PFV **NEG 1** become widespread
 ‘Stealing was not widespread’. (Punishment 15.1)
- 370) **wankàte** **bò** **kakamə**
 wá = n- k- té b- k-
 3SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** PROG show 1PL.ACC place
 ‘He wasn’t showing us the place’ (Verb_morph 53.1)

7.1.1.5 Infinitive and emphatic

In Sèkpele, the infinitive form of the verb is formed by adding the prefix /ka-/, which has [ke-] and [kə-] as variants. The infinitive usually occurs in serial-verb constructions having a similar function to the English infinitive marked by ‘to’

7.1.2 Verbal root

The root of the verb is its minimal lexical form: it is the irreducible core of the word, with absolutely nothing else attached to it (Katamba, 2006). Driever (1976:23) defines the verb root in Kiswahili as

*The part of the verbal expression which carries the lexical meaning of the verb
and cannot be morphologically analysed into smaller meaningful units*

In Sekpele, the minimal form of the verb can be used in imperative constructions, as in (374) and (375), or after a deictic verb, as in (376) and (377):

- 374) **smɪ siku siəmə**
sɪmɪ sè- *kú sí- mó
open NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘Open the door’ (Verbs 87.1)

- 375) **ti siku siəmə**
tí sè- *kú sí- mó
close NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘Close the door’ (Verbs 89.1)

- 376) **bəbə tu mə lə kakã bensi**
 bá= bó **tù** mó lə kàkã bá= n- sí
 3PL.NOM.PST= come **meet** 3PL.ACC LOC place 3PL.NOM.PST= PROG dwell
 ‘They came to meet them where they were dwelling’ (History_amankrado 1.15)

- 377) **bə Katsyankla əbə tɛɪ nkə , fěě boola**
 báə Katsyankla à- bó **téyí** nkə fěě bò= ó- là
 they say Katsyankla PFV come **tell** that before 3PL.NOM= FUT cut
əsiəkpome əmfó la , ...
 à- *síə *kpòmé a- mfó lá
 CL6 dwell chair CL6 that TOP
 ‘They said Katsyankla come to say that, before they will divide the chieftaincies ...’
 (History_amankrado 3.19)

The minimal verbal root may also occur after an auxiliary which carries the inflectional elements which otherwise are attached to the verb root.

- 378) **bensi** **tɔno** **bəə** **udi** **seka**
 bà= n- sí **tɔnɔ̀** báə ò= dí se- *ká
 3PL.NOM= NEG still **agree** they say 3SG.NOM= inherit NCL11 chief
 ‘They didn’t agree that he becomes the chief anymore’ (History_amankrado 3.115)

7.1.3 Post-verbal domain

The post-verbal position is occupied by verbal extensions. In most African languages, the verb root may take suffixes to mark extensions such as causative, applicative, intensity, reciprocal, stative, inersive, associative, passive etc (Mreta, 1998:73). However, in Sekpele, there are only three extensions. These are the causative, the associative and the non-stative. The causative is expressed by the morpheme **-sə**, as in (379) and (380). This morpheme is used to indicate a situation where an agent or a force causes an event or a state of affairs to happen.

- 379) a) **kutu** **komə** **ətu**
 kó- *tù kó- mə à tú
 NCL7 soup CL7 the PFV be boil
 ‘The soup is boiled’
- b) **utusə** **kutu** **komə**
 ó= tú **-sə** kó- *tù kó- mə
 3SG.NOM.PST= be boil **CAUS** NCL7 soup CL7 the
 ‘He boiled the soup’ (Verbs 125.1)
- 380) **lə** **betsyi** **fə** **babesə** **kato**
 lá bá= tsyí fə bá= bé **-sə** kàtô
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= carry 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST= raise **CAUS** up
 ‘If they raise you up’ (King_making 2.40)

The associative is expressed by the morpheme **-ko**, as in (381) and (382). This morpheme is used to indicate a situation where the agent is directly related to or involved in the action or state of affairs.

- 381) a) **mə** **didì** **bəkpə** **baaye**
 mǎ lè= dí bá- *kpə bá= à- yé
 3PL.ACC REL= inherit NCL2 warrior 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV walk
beetsyi **Atebubu**
 bá= à- tsyì Atebubu
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come from Atebubu
 ‘They were the warriors who migrated from Atebubu’

- b) **mə** **didì** **bəkpə**
 mǎ lè= dí bá- *kpə
 3PL.ACC REL= inherit NCL2 warrior
baayenko **mə**
 bá= à- yé -n- -kó mǎ
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV walk LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC
beetsyiko **Atebubu**
 bá= à- tsyì -kó Atebubu
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come from ASSOC Atebubu
 ‘They were the warriors who led the migration from Atebubu’ (History_amankrado 1.5)

- 382) **əbɔ̀nko** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **lekplə**
 ó= bó -n- -kó lè- *kplíbí nǎ- mǎ lèkplè
 3SG.NOM.PST= get out LIG ASSOC NCL5 pot CL5 the outside
 ‘He brought the pot outside’ (Locative 5.1)

The non-stative morpheme **-ǎ** is attached to stative verbs, as in (383), to make them non-stative, as in (384) and (385):

- 383) **ke** **fěě** **bəəbə** **dufə** **la** ,
 gake fěě bá= à- bó dúfə lá
 but before 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come arrive TOP
bəəbə **bə** **Bakwa** **kato** , **məmə** **fe**
 bá= à- bó bó Bakwa kàtô mómó fè
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come get out Bakwa North 3PL.PN already
besi .
bè= **sí**
2PL.NOM= **dwell**
 ‘But before they had arrived, in their sight was Bakwa north, they were already dwelling there’
 (History_amankrado 1.12)

- 384) **okankplɛ** **wə** **ko** **luusio** **kasɔ**
 o- *kánkplê wê kò lɔ̀ = ó- sí -ɔ́ kà- *sô
 NCL1 paramount chief 3SG.PN then REL = FUT dwell NON-STV NCL9 land
kã **to** **ntinti** .
 ká tò ñtíntí
 CL9.DEF POSS centre
 ‘The paramount chief, he then will have to dwell in the centre of the land’
 (History_Amankrado 3.43)

- 385) **nya** **mfó** **bəəsio** **gake** **məmə** **umə**
 nyá m̀fó bá = à- sí -ɔ́ gake mómá o- *mè
 then there 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV dwell NON-STV but 3PL.POSS NCL3 town
baala **la** , **mfó** **baakpo** **Okumase** .
 bá = à- là lá m̀fó bá = á- kpó Okumase
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV cut TOP there 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB call Okumase
 ‘Then there they had settled but their town they created was called Okumase’
 (History_amankrado 3.9)

Whereas the causative and the associative are productive, the stative is limited to the verbs ‘sit’ and ‘dwell’. There is also the possibility of having a combination of any of these extensions.

- 386) **siə̀nko**
 sí -ɔ́ -kó
 dwell NON-STV ASSOC
 ‘live with/marry’

- 387) **siəsə**
 sí -ɔ́ -sə
 dwell NON-STV CAUS
 ‘greet’

- 388) **tsyikosə**
 tsyì -kó -sə
 come from ASSOC CAUS
 ‘cause to start’

389) **losəko**

lò	-sə	-kó
be finish	CAUS	ASSOC
'finish with'		

It is important to note that there are some restrictions to the types of combination in relation to acceptable positioning. Examples (388) and (389) show that both the causative and the associative can interchange positions when they occur together. However, the stative is forbidden from occurring in word-final position. As a result, we cannot have the CAUS + NON-STV or ASSOC + NON-STV combinations.

7.2 Verbs and valency

This section discusses semantic classes of verbs and their valency. Valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion, or a combination of both (Payne, 1997:169). Semantic valence refers to the number of necessary participants that must be in the scene expressed by the verb. For instance, the verb 'eat' has two participants, the 'eater' and the thing being eaten. Likewise the verb 'give' has three participants, the 'giver', the thing being given, and the recipient. The verb 'eat' therefore has a semantic valence of two while that of the verb 'give' has three. Syntactic valence on the other hand, refers to the number of arguments or participants present in a given clause. The occurrence of an argument mainly depends on the importance being placed on it. In the case of the verb 'eat', it can have a syntactic valence of one or two, or even take an adjunct depending on the specific importance of their occurrence. Semantic valency is a universal phenomenon such that the semantic valence of a particular verb is the same across the languages of the world. However, languages employ various valency increasing or decreasing strategies which affect the syntactic valency of a verb.

It is very important to distinguish between core and peripheral NPs (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:2). The number and nature of arguments is determined by the choice of the predicate. The argument must be present or be understood for the clause to be acceptable and make sense. Adjuncts are less dependent on the semantic nature of the verb. They are optionally included to indicate place, time, cause, and purpose. This section looks at the semantic classes of verbs and their argument structure in Sekpele. Whereas verbs are seen as choosing their arguments, in some pragmatic contexts, selectional restrictions apply between verbs and their objects. This section also accounts for some valency increasing and/or decreasing strategies that are employed in the language.

7.2.1 Semantic classes of verbs and valency

The notion of valence is closely aligned with the traditional idea of transitivity. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). There are some verbs that seem to vary in terms of transitivity. For instance, a verb may be said to be both transitive and intransitive. This section discusses the inherent semantic features of verbs in Sekpele. The meaning of verbs has a great impact in the choice of participants or arguments in a clause. Therefore, this section will be organised in terms of the semantics and the argument structure of verbs.

7.2.1.1 Univalent verbs

A univalent or intransitive verb is one that describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant. The single argument occurs as the subject of the clause. In Sekpele, verbs or verb-like words that belong to this category include

voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs.

7.2.1.1.1 Voluntary motion verbs

Voluntary motion verbs are verbs used to describe the movement of an entity to or from a particular place. Verbs that fall in this category include *bó* ‘come’, *dú* ‘leave’, *sà* ‘jump’, *ló* ‘fall’, *bó* ‘exist, come/go out’, ‘crawl’, *tsyétsyí* ‘run’ and *tsylàmà* ‘roam about, wander’. This is illustrated in:

- 390) *osani ketsyenkle əmə əbə mfo*
 ò- *sàní kètsɛŋklè á- mó à- bó m̩fò
 NCL1 man tall CL1 the PFV come here
 ‘The tall man came here’ (Adjectives 22.1)

- 391) *utsyetsyi udu*
 ó= tsyétsyí ó= dú
 3SG.NOM.PST= run 3SG.NOM.PST= leave
 ‘He ran away’ (Verbs 52.1)

- 392) *bəəbə dufə lə kaso kəmə*
 bá= à- bó dúfə lə kà- *sə ká- mó
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come enter LOC NCL9 land CL9 the
batsylama babe
 bá= tsylàmà bá= bè
 3PL.NOM.PST= roam 3PL.NOM.PST= see
 ‘They entered and roamed the land to check it’ (History_amankrado 3.5)

7.2.1.1.2 Verbs of emission

Verbs of emission describe the emission of sounds, scent and substance. Verbs that belong to this category include *fǎ* ‘shout’, *dù* ‘drip/leak’, *tá* ‘shine’, and *yĩ* ‘smell’; and are illustrated in:

- 393) **ole** **bofã**
 ò = lé **bo-** **fã**
 3SG.NOM = hold **NMLZ** shout
 ‘He is shouting’ (Verbs 209.1)
- 394) **nyafěě fuutəkə** **ntu ekiti** **akpo** **fěě**
 nyáfěě fò = ó- tókó ntù à = kútí à = kpó fěě
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT put on water 2SG.NOM fetch 2SG.NOM pour before
kolo **kuã** **luudu** **kenke**
 kò- *lò kuã lè = ó- dù kéṅké
 NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF **REL =** FUT **drip** all
 ‘Then you will put water on the fire and pour it before the soda ash will drip totally’
 (Soap_making 18.5)
- 395) **ahunhue nyəmə** **le bota**
 àhùnhùé nyá- mó lé **bo-** **tá**
 mirror CL3 the hold **NMLZ** shine
 ‘The mirror is shining’ (Verbs 342.1)
- 396) **ubuki** **əmə** **ayĩ** **buabua**
 ò- *bùkí á- mó á- **yĩ** búàbúà
 NCL1 animal CL1 the **HAB** smell badly
 ‘The animal smells bad’ (Verbs 58.1)

7.2.1.1.3 Property verbs

Property verbs are used to describe the inherent properties or qualities of entities.

These verbs are used to express a state or a change of state (inchoative), depending on the context. I have also referred to them as verb-like adjectives (see §9.3.1).

Some property verbs are illustrated in:

- 397) **kuyi** **komə** **ekulə**
 kò- *yî kó- mó à- **kúló**
 NCL7 tree CL7 the **PFV** become tall
 ‘The tree is tall’ (Adjectives 17.1)

- 398) **ɔpunu əmə amə**
 ò- *pùnú á- mǎ à- mǎ
 NCL3 table CL3 the PFV become big
 ‘The table is big’ (Adjectives 30.1)

- 399) **kukuə komə ana**
 kò- *kùś kó- mǎ à- ná
 NCL7 book CL7 the PFV become black
 ‘The book is black/dirty’ (Adjectives 10.1)

7.2.1.1.4 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs describe a change of state of the participants. These verbs include **kpé** ‘die’, **bú** ‘wet/rot’, **bíá** ‘spoil’, **kwé** ‘dry up’ and **là** ‘torn’. This is illustrated in:

- 400) **eso Bala to bă lisuu , besu**
 ésò Bálá tò bă lè= sù = bá= sù
 therefore Bala POSS 3PL.REL.PRO REL= go =TOP 3PL.NOM.PST= go
bedi bəbə kpə .
 bá= dí bá= bó kpé
 3PL.NOM.PST= eat 3PL.NOM.PST= come die
 ‘Therefore those of Bala who went, ate and came to die’ (History_amankrado 3.85)

- 401) **sínə siəmə abia**
 sé- *nə síǎ- mǎ à- bíá
 NCL11 meat CL11 the PFV be spoil
 ‘The meat has become bad’ (Verbs 286.1)

- 402) **awu nyəmə ebu**
 àwù nyá- mǎ à- bú
 clothing CL6 the PFV become wet
 ‘The clothings are wet’ (Verbs 307.1)

7.2.1.1.5 Verbs of involuntary bodily processes

The verbs that belong to this category are used to describe bodily processes of animate entities. They are involuntary due to the fact that the participants are not in direct control of the state of affairs denoted by the verbs. Verbs that belong to this category include *wónḁ* ‘breathe’, *yínsiè* ‘sneeze’, *kósé* ‘cough’, *kpi* ‘belch’ and *wùlâ* ‘yawn’. There are some bodily processes that involve some control on the part of the participant such as *mḁ* ‘smile’. Involuntary bodily processes are illustrated in:

- 403) *ɔlɛ* *bɔwɔnɔ*
 ò = lɛ *bḁ-* *wónḁ*
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ breathe
 ‘He is breathing’ (Verbs 382.1)
- 404) *ɔlɛ* *bɔyɪnsiɛ*
 ò = lɛ *bḁ-* *yínsiè*
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ sneeze
 ‘He is sneezing’ (Verbs 260.1)
- 405) *ɔlɛ* *bɔwula*
 ò = lɛ *bḁ-* *wùlâ*
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ yawn
 ‘He is yawning’ (Verbs 261.1)
- 406) *ɔlɛ* *bɔkpi*
 ò = lɛ *bḁ-* *kpi*
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ belch
 ‘He is belching’ (Verbs 262:1)

These verbs can take their noun forms as cognate objects or inherent complements (see also §8.1.2.11). This is illustrated in:

- 407) *ɔlɛ* *ɔkɔ* *bɔkɔsɛ*
 ò = lɛ *ɔkɔ* *bḁ-* *kósé*
 3SG.NOM = hold cough NMLZ to cough
 ‘He is coughing’ (Verbs 264.1)

- 408) **ɔle** **simə** **bumə**
 ò = lɛ́ **símà** **bó-** **mà**
 3SG.NOM = hold **smile** **NMLZ** **smile/laugh**
 ‘He is smiling/laughing’ (Verbs 210.1)

- 409) **ɔle** **bumə**
 ò = lɛ́ **bó-** **mà**
 3SG.NOM = hold **NMLZ** **smile/laugh**
 ‘He is smiling/laughing’ (Verbs 211.1)

7.2.1.2 Divalent verbs

A divalent or transitive verb is one that describes a relation between two participants such that one of the participants acts upon or towards the other. The argument that performs the action or influences the state of affairs is assigned the subject role while the other is expressed as the object. Therefore the subject could be an agent, an affector or an experiencer whereas the object could be a stimulus. Verbs in this category include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs.

7.2.1.2.1 Verbs of perception

Perception verbs involve the perceiver occurring as the subject of a clause whilst the entity that is perceived occurs as the object. Verbs of perception in Sɛkpɛle include **nyə** ‘see’, **no** ‘hear’ and **bə** ‘look’. This is illustrated in:

- 410) **unyə** **ubuki** **əmə**
 ó = **nyə** ò- *bùkí á- mǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = **see** **NCL1** **animal** **CL1** **the**
 ‘He saw the animal’ (Verbs 54.1)

- 411) **ɔnɔ ubuki əmə to kɔsɔ**
ó= nɔ̀ ò- *bùkí á- má tò kósó
 3SG.NOM.PST= hear NCL1 animal CL1 the POSS sound
 ‘He heard the animal's voice’ (Verbs 55.1)
- 412) **nya læ bəta mə tsyaa , be ɔkɔ læ**
nyá lá bá= tá mə tsyâ = bɛ̀ ò- *kô lá
 then if 3PL.NOM.PST= give 1SG.ACC too =TOP look NCL1 corpse then
abe osate lee wǝ looya nte .
à= bɛ̀ òsàté léé wǝ lò= ó- yà nítè
 2SG.NOM look owner or 3SG.REL.PRO REL= FUT buy wine
 ‘Then if they even give me (something), look at the corpse and its owner or the one who is buying the wine’ (Buying_name 43.1)

Perception verbs can take sentential complements. The sentential complement is introduced by the complementizer *níkə̀* or its plural counterpart *bánkə̀*, or *kàsɛ̀* ‘how’.

This is illustrated in:

- 413) **dinɔ ke ehɪa bəə wə ɔkɛ la ,**
díná ké é= hǎ́ bəə wə ò= kɛ lá
 the day any 3SG.NOM.PST= need 3PL.COMP 3SG.ACC 3SG.NOM= exist TOP
elebəə obe nkə
é= lè bəə ò= bɛ̀ níkə̀
 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= see COMP
ubə dufə .
ò= bá dúfə
 3SG.NOM= come arrive
 ‘Any time it is necessary that he exists, it is necessary he sees to it that he arrives’
 (King_making 14.6)

- 414) **bəənyə bənkə nbukubi bua ku kətsyuə**
bá= à- nyə bánkə̀ n- *bùkùbí búà kú ka- tsyuə
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
əmbə yookpe mə bulə læ
à- n- bá yò= ó- kpé má bo- là là
 SCR NEG exist 3SG.NOM= FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
kəsiəko kəmə
kà- síá -kó ká- má
 NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the

‘They had seen that there aren't any bad insects and others which will still disturb them there or will worry them in the place’
(History_amankrado 3.98)

- 415) **sitə** **siəmfo** , **be kase seeleke**
 sè- *tə sí- mfō **bè kàsé** sé = à- lékè
 NCL11 soil CL11 this **see how** CL11.NOM.PST = PFV be good
 ‘This clay, see how good it is’
 (Pottery 152.1)

7.2.1.2.2 Verbs of cognition

Just like verbs of perception, Sekpele has a set of cognition verbs. They include **yí** ‘know’, **tè** ‘know/realise’, **klómà** ‘remember’ and **tà əsúə** ‘forget’. The verb **tà əsúə** is a collocation of **tà** whose meaning cannot be traced and **əsúə** ‘body’. Examples of verbs of cognition are:

- 416) **uyi** **oka** **əmə**
 ò = **yí** ó- *ká á- mó
 3SG.NOM = **know** NCL1 chief CL1 the
 ‘He knows the chief’
 (Verbs 192.1)
- 417) **eso** **məmə** **ataka** **bate** **kobe** .
 ésò mémé à- tákà **bá** = **tè** kòbé
 therefore 3PL.PN PFV rise 3PL.NOM.PST = **know** wisdom
 ‘Therefore they were wise’
 (History_amankrado 3.57)
- 418) **okloma** **uku** **əmə**
 ó = **klómà** ò- *kú á- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST = **remember** NCL3 story CL3 the
 ‘He remembered the story’
 (Verbs 195.1)
- 419) **ota** **oka** **əmə** **əsue**
 ó = **tà** ó- *ká á- mó **əsúə**
 3SG.NOM.PST = **forget** NCL1 chief CL1 the **body**
 ‘He forgot about the chief’
 (Verb 197.1)

Verbs of cognition can also take a sentential complement which is introduced by the complementizer *ńkà* or its plural counterpart *bónkà*, or *kàsé* ‘how’. They can also take conditional clauses introduced by *lɔ* as a complement. This is illustrated in:

- 420) **amante** **nkə** **mɔ** **tasɪ**
á= **n-** **à-** **n-** **tè** **ńkà** **mó=** **tásí**
 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG know COMP 1SG.POSS= paternal aunt
uni ?
ò= **ní**
 3SG.NOM= be
 ‘Don't you know that she is my paternal aunt?’ (Pottery 144.1)

- 421) **babloni** **bote** **kase** **boeyifo** **lɔ**
bà- ***blóní** **bó-** **tè** **kàsé** **bó=** **á-** **yífo** **lɔ**
 NCL2 white person FUT know how 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB do LOC
bomfo
bó= **m̃fò**
 1PL.POSS= here
 ‘White people will know how we do things here’ (Pottery 280.1)

- 422) **otodi** **beefi** **baakpe**
òtòdì **bá=** **à-** **fí** **bá=** **à-** **kpé**
 palm frond 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put
kasontii , **bante** **lɔ**
kàsòntí = **bá=** **n-** **tè** **lɔ**
 ground = TOP 3PL.NOM.PST= NEG know if
wookwe **mlə** .
wò= **ó-** **kwé** **mló**
 3SG.NOM= FUT become dry early
 ‘Palm fronds they had put in the ground, they don't know if it would dry quickly’
 (History_amankrado 3.56)

7.2.1.2.3 Speech act verbs

Speech act verbs involve a speaker and an addressee or theme. The speaker occurs as the subject while the addressee or theme occurs as the object. Speech act verbs in Sekpele include *téf* ‘say’, *kà* ‘insult’, *kpádí* ‘call’, *fá* ‘cast a spell’ *tò* ‘ask’ and *tó ólá*

‘pray’. The verb *tó ólá* is a collocation of the verb *tó* ‘throw’ and the object *ólá* ‘prayer’ (see also §7.2.1.2.11). Some speech act verbs such as *téí/téyí* ‘tell’ and *tò* ‘ask’ have a semantic valency of three. They are treated in section 7.2.1.3. It is interesting to note that there are two homophonic verbs *téí*, a divalent verb meaning ‘say’ and trivalent verb meaning ‘tell’. Examples of speech act verbs in divalent clauses are illustrated in:

- 423) *ɔle* *sidia boteyi*
 ò = *lé* *sìdiá* *bó-* *téyí*
 3SG.NOM = hold lie NMLZ say
 ‘He is telling a lie’ (Verbs 447.1)

- 424) *oka* *oka* *əmə*
 ó = *kà* *ó-* **ká* *á-* *mé*
 3SG.NOM.PST = insult NCL1 chief CL1 the
 ‘He insulted the chief’ (Verbs 71.1)

- 425) *okpadi* *mə* *kənə*
 ó = *kpádí* *mə* *kènə*
 3SG.NOM.PST = call 1SG.ACC yesterday
 ‘He called me yesterday’ (verbs 228.1)

- 426) *lə bato ola* *mfó balosə* *la* ,
lá bá = *tó* *ólá* *m̀fó* *bá =* *lò* *-sə* *lá*
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = throw prayer there 3PL.NOM.PST = be finish CAUS TOP
boola *ubuki* *bala* *koto* *kome*
bò = *ó-* *là* *ò-* **bùkí* *bà =* *là* *kó-* **tò* *kó-* *mé*
 3PL.NOM = FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM = cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
 ‘If they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’
 (King making 2.47)

7.2.1.2.4 Verbs of creation

Verbs of creation predicate states of affairs in which an agent performs an activity which leads to or results in the creation of another entity. In this case, the agent is

encoded as the subject while the created entity is the object of the clause. Verbs of creation include *tò* ‘build/mould’, *ká* ‘sew’, and *dì* ‘weave’. This is illustrated in:

- 427) *ntsyo baato ekplibi ?*
 ñtsyó bá= á- tò à- *kplíbí
 how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB mould NCL6 cooking pot
 ‘How are pots made?’ (Pottery 6.1)
- 428) *nya dinə dinə fěě fuutsyue aka ke ko*
 nyá dínə dínə fěě fò= ó- tsyúé à= ká ké kò
 then piece piece before 2SG.NOM= FUT arrange 2SG.NOM sew CL9.ACC then
efiani fə kafia .
 è= fíánì fə kà- *fiá
 3SG.NOM= become 2SG.ACC NCL9 cloth
 ‘Then piece by piece before you will arrange and sew it then it becomes a full cloth for you’
 (Good_old_days 4.1)
- 429) *nyafěě wuudi kpenkple kpenkple kpenkple ...*
 nyáfěě wò= ó- dì kpenkplé kpenkplé kpenkplé
 then 3SG.NOM= FUT weave weave weave weave
wuudi kafia kã kenke .
 wò= ó- dì kà- *fiá ká kénké
 3SG.NOM= FUT weave NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF all
 ‘Then he will weave kpenkple kpenkple kpenkple... he will weave the cloth completely’
 (Good_old_days 2.11)

A subset of the verbs of creation is the verbs of cooking. There is a set of verbs that describe the processes and methods of cooking. The generic term for cooking is *wǎ* ‘cook’, and it is also used to specify the process of boiling and steaming food on a fire. It is also used to describe the process of brewing wine and liquor, and is illustrated in:

- 430) *ěhěě baawǎ lesa tsya kedi .*
 ěhěě bá= á- wǎ lèsá tsyâ kà- dí
 surely 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB cook food too INF eat
 ‘Surely, they used to cook food too to eat’ (Pottery 49.1)

- 431) **eboya** **abe** **awã** **awo** **lə**
 à = bó- yà à- *bé à = wã à = wó ló
 2SG.NOM FUT buy NCL6 palmnut 2SG.NOM cook 2SG.NOM pound LOC
kəke .
 kókè
 mortar
 ‘You will buy palmnuts, cook and pound it in a mortar’ (Palm_oil 2.1)

- 432) **nya** **boolo** **ubuki** **əmə** **bawã**
 nyá bə = ó- lò ò- *búkí á- má bà = wã
 then 3PL.NOM = FUT kill NCL1 animal CL1 the 3PL.NOM = cook
lesa
 lè- *sá
 NCL5 thing
 ‘Then they will kill the animal and cook food’ (Naming_ceremony 2.3)

- 433) **bawã** **nte** **leleko**
bá = wã ntè lèlékò
 3PL.NOM.PST = cook wine last year
 ‘They brewed wine last year’ (Verbs 528.1)

Other verbs of cooking include *sə* ‘fry’ and *fi* ‘roast’. The verb *sə* is used to describe the process of frying in a pan. The process could be a dry fry, as in (434) and (435), or frying in oil as in (436):

- 434) **esə** **bəbe** **biəmə** .
 à = sə bə- *bé bíá- mó
 2SG.NOM fry NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the
 ‘You fry the palm kernel’ (Palm_kernel_oil 4.2)

- 435) **əle** **akutuabi** **ətsyua** **busə**
 ò = lé à- *kùtùábí á- tsyúá bó- sə
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 groundnut CL6 some NMLZ fry
 ‘He is roasting some groundnuts’ (Verbs 120.1)

- 436) **əle** **akpe** **nyəmə** **busə**
 ò = lé à- *kpé nyá- mó bó- sə
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 fish CL6 the NMLZ fry
 ‘He is frying the fishes’ (Verbs 121.1)

The verb **fi** is used to describe the process of preparing food in direct contact with fire. It may be used to refer to the act of roasting, as in (437), or baking, as in (438) and (439):

- 437) **bale** **sinə** **siəmə** **bufi**
 bà= lé sé- *nə síá- má **bó-** **fi**
 3PL.NOM= hold NCL11 meat CL11 the **NMLZ** **roast**
 ‘They are roasting the meat’ (Verbs 119.1)

- 438) **befi** boblo kənə
bá= **fi** boblo kənə
3PL.NOM.PST= **roast** bread yesterday
 ‘They baked bread yesterday’ (Verbs 527.1)

- 439) **ətsyuə** **kpee** , **benfi** **nya** [**fine**],
 à- tsyúá kpé = **bá=** **n-** **fi** nyá
 CL6 some exist =TOP **3PL.NOM.PST=** **NEG** **roast** 3SG.ACC
yambe
 yá= n- bé
3SG.NOM.PST= **NEG** be cook
 ‘Sometimes, they haven't baked it well, it wasn't well cooked’ (Pottery 216.1)

7.2.1.2.5 Verbs of planting

The speakers of Sekpele are predominantly crop farmers. They mostly practice mixed farming, cultivating plants such as maize, cassava, pepper and cocoyam. They also cultivate commercial crops such as cocoa and oil palm. The oil palm is used to make palm oil, palm kernel oil, and palm-wine (which are used for all recreational activities). Sekpele has a set of verbs (action and positional) which are used to express the processes of cultivating any crop. The verbs are sub-classified according to the type of crop and the method used in planting. It is inappropriate to use any other verb apart from the one that describes the process involved with the particular crop. The generic term for cultivation is **fo** ‘weed land’ which expresses the initial

process in farming – clearing the land. The generic *fó* can be used to express the cultivation of any crop without specifying the actual process. This is illustrated in:

- 440) **osani** **ǎ** **afo** **ɔkwe**
 ò- *sànî ǎ à- **fó** òkwé
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF PFV cultivate farm
 ‘The man has cultivated a farm’ (Verbs 508.1)

- 441) **ofo** **kookoo to** **ɔkwe**
ó= **fó** kòòkòò tò òkwé
3SG.NOM.PST= cultivate cocoa POSS farm
 ‘He has cultivated a cocoa farm’ (Verbs 509.1)

- 442) **usio** **ǎ** **afo** **ɔkle** **to** **ɔkwe**
 ò- *sió ǎ à- **fó** ò- *klé tò òkwé
 NCL1 woman CL1.DEF PFV cultivate NCL3 pepper POSS farm
 ‘The woman has cultivated a pepper farm’ (Verbs 510.1)

The verbs that express the process of planting are *sé* ‘sprinkle/ broadcast’, *tó* ‘throw’, *kpé* ‘put.in’, *tsyí* ‘transplant’ *klù* ‘weed with hoe’ and *tákó* ‘put.on’. The verb *sé* is used to express the process of nursery. All crops that are nursed can take the verb *sé*. This verb is also used with trees that propagate their seeds without any human intervention such as the Odum (Iroko) tree, and is illustrated in:

- 443) **ose** **tomatosi to** **ebibi**
ó= **sé** tòmatòsì tò à- *bìbí
3SG.NOM.PST= sprinkle tomato POSS NCL6 seed
 ‘He nursed tomato seeds’ (Verbs 511.1)

- 444) **base** **ɔkle** **to** **ebibi**
bá= **sé** ò- *klé tò à- *bìbí
3PL.NOM.PST= sprinkle NCL3 pepper POSS NCL6 seed
 ‘They nursed pepper seeds’ (Verbs 512.1)

- 445) **Odum** **ase** **ebibi** **ekpo** **kasó**
 Òdúm à= **sé** à- *bìbí é= kpó kàsô
 Iroko tree 2SG.NOM sprinkle NCL6 seed 3SG.NOM.PST= pour ground
 ‘An Iroko tree has sprinkled its seeds on the ground’ (Verbs 513.1)

The verb *sé* and *klù* are used for the cultivation of rice. The verb *klù* is used in a wider sense while the verb *sé* is used specifically to describe the process of broadcasting the seed on cultivated land. This is illustrated in:

- 446) **besu** **kamɔ kaseko**
 bá= sù kàmó kà- sé -kó
 3PL.NOM.PST= go rice INF sprinkle PLACE/PURP
 ‘They have gone to plant rice’ (Miscellaneous 63.1)

- 447) **beklu** **kamɔ leleko**
 bá= klù kàmó lèlékò
 3PL.NOM.PST= weed with hoe rice last year
 ‘They planted rice last year’ (Miscellaneous 64.1)

- 448) **ɔle** **kamɔ buklu**
 ò= lé kàmó bó- klù
 3SG.NOM= hold rice NMLZ weed with hoe
 ‘He is planting rice’ (Miscellaneous 65.1)

The verb *tó* is used to express the process where seeds are directly sowed in the ground. It is not clear if in the past seeds were broadcast on cultivated land, which may have resulted in the name. These days, the upper layer of the soil is dug with a machete or a pointed pole, the seeds placed in the hole and covered. The used of the verb *tó* is illustrated as in:

- 449) **Kofi ato** **anta lə ɔkwe**
 Kofi à- tó àntá lə ɔkwé
 Kofi PFV plant maize LOC farm
 ‘Kofi has planted maize on the farm’ (Verbs 514.1)

- 450) **bato** **akebi lele nɛmfɔ**
 bá= tó àkèbí lè- *lé ná- mfɔ
 3PL.NOM.PST= plant beans NCL5 year CL5 this
 ‘They planted beans this year’ (Verbs 515.1)

- The verb ***kpé*** is used to express the process of placing the stalk of a plant into the ground. There are some crops such as plantain and cassava whose stalks are planted directly onto the land. Other crops that are nursed such as cocoa and oil palm use the verb ***kpé*** to express the process of transplanting onto the main land. The use of the verb ***kpé*** is illustrated in:

- 251

- 454) **buusu** **bafo** **ɔkwe bə̀tə** **wə** ,
 bə̀ = ó- sù bə̀ = fɔ́ ɔ́kwé bə̀ = tɔ́ wə̀
 3PL.NOM = FUT go 3PL.NOM = cultivate farm 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC
bakpe **kookoo bə̀tə** **wə** **lee bakpe**
 bə̀ = kpé kòòkòò bə̀ = tɔ́ wə̀ léé bə̀ = kpé
 3PL.NOM = plant cocoa 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC or 3PL.NOM = plant
kɔ́fɪ bə̀tə **wə** **lee legbedi** .
 kɔ́fɪ bə̀ = tɔ́ wə̀ léé lègbèdì
 coffee 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC or cassava
 ‘They will go and farm for him, plant cocoa for him or plant coffee for him or cassava for him’
 (King_making 14.20)

There are some other crops that are placed on a mount or soil bed. The verb that is used to express the process associated with these crops is *táks*, as in:

- 455) **batakə** **bisi** **lə ɔkwe**
 bá = táks bə̀- *sí lɔ́ ɔ́kwé
 3PL.NOM.PST = plant NCL12 yam LOC farm
 ‘They planted yams on the farm’ (Verbs 516.1)

- 456) **utəkə** **abula** **lə ɔkwe**
 ó = táks à- *búlá lɔ́ ɔ́kwé
 3SG.NOM.PST = plant NCL6 onion LOC farm
 ‘He planted onions on the farm’ (Verbs 517.1)

It is important to note that the meaning associated with these verbs of planting is based on the crop and the location. In most circumstances which are different from these, the verbs take on their generic meaning. This is illustrated in:

- 457) **utəkə** **bisi** **lə ateke**
 ó = táks bə̀- *sí lɔ́ àtèké
 3SG.NOM.PST = put on NCL12 yam LOC stove
 ‘He put yams on the stove (He is cooking yams)’ (Verbs 518.1)

- 458) **oto** **wə leba lə ɔkwe**
 ó = tó wə̀ lèbà lɔ́ ɔ́kwé
 3SG.NOM.PST = throw 3SG.ACC rock LOC farm
 ‘He threw a stone at him on the farm’ (Verbs 519.1)

7.2.1.2.6 Verbs of harvesting

Similar to the verbs of planting, Sekpele has a set of verbs that express the process of harvesting crops. They relate to the manner in which various plants are harvested. The verbs of harvesting are *là* ‘cut’, *kù* ‘dig’, *sù* ‘exhume’ *fěsě* ‘break’, *kpínf* ‘reap’, *fódi* ‘thresh’, *sié* ‘rip with axe’, *lókà* ‘remove’ and *lè* ‘pluck’. The verb *là* is used to express the process where the crop is cut, as in:

- 459) **obladyo mambe** **fěě oola**
 òblàdzyó n- à- n- bé fěě ó= ò- là
 plantain NEG PFV NEG mature before 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT cut
 ‘The plantain has not matured before he harvested it’ (Verbs 520.1)

- 460) **ola kaklotia kenke lə ɔkwɛ**
 ó= là kà- *klòtíá kénké lá ɔkwé
 3SG.NOM.PST= cut NCL4 banana all LOC farm
 ‘He harvested the entire crop of bananas on the farm’ (Verbs 521.1)

The verb *kù* is used to express the process where a crop is dug from the ground. It is used in relation to tubers and nuts, as in:

- 461) **beku legbedi lə kase boowo fufu**
 bá= kù lègbèdì lə kàsé bò= ó- wó fùfù
 3PL.NOM.PST= dig cassava just as 3PL.NOM= FUT pound cassava pudding
 ‘He dug cassava in order to prepare cassava pudding’ (Verbs 522.1)

- 462) **ɔlɛ bisi biəmə buku**
 ò= lé bɛ- *sí bíá- má bó- kù
 3SG.NOM= hold NCL12 yam CL12 the NMLZ dig
 ‘He is digging up the yams’ (Verbs 97.1)

The verb *sù* is used to express the process of uprooting or exhuming a crop from the ground effortlessly with the bare hands without any tools. It is used in relation to bulbs, tubers and nuts that require no tool to harvest them, as below (see also example 451 above):

- 463) **besu** **abula**
bá= **sù** **à-** ***búlá**
3PL.NOM.PST= **exhume** **NCL6** **onion**
 ‘They uprooted onions’ (Miscellaneous 66.1)
- 464) **besu** **menkeni** **bato** **kawāko**
bá= **sù** **mènkèní** **bà=** **tó** **kà-** **wà** **-kó**
3PL.NOM.PST= **exhume** **cocoyam** **3PL.NOM=** **go towards** **INF** **cook** **PLACE**
 ‘They uprooted cocoyam to cook’ (Miscellaneous 67.1)

The verbs *fěsě* and *kpíní* are used to express the process where cereal kernels are detached from their stalk. The verb *fěsě* is also used for the harvest of medicinal herbs, as in:

- 465) **Kofi** **əfəsə** **anta** **ufi**
Kofi **à-** **fěsě** **àntá** **ó=** **fi**
Kofi **PFV** **break** **maize** **3SG.NOM.PST=** **roast**
 ‘Kofi harvested maize and roasted it’ (Verbs 523.1)
- 466) **ole** **anta** **bəkpɪmɪ**
ò= **lé** **àntá** **bó-** **kpíní**
3SG.NOM= **hold** **maize** **NMLZ** **harvest**
 ‘He is harvesting maize’ (Verbs 98.1)
- 467) **ole** **afantosi** **nyamə** **bufəsə**
ò= **lé** **à-** ***fántó** ***sì** **nyá-** **má** **bò-** **fěsě**
3SG.NOM= **hold** **NCL6** **leaf** **head** **CL6** **the** **NMLZ** **harvest**
 ‘He is harvesting the herbs’ (Verbs 100.1)

The verb *lě* is used to express the process of plucking fruits, peas and leafy vegetables. The verb *lěkə* is also used with the harvest of leafy vegetables, as in:

- 468) **bəkpəfi** **bǎ** **lě** **kamango** **bəle**
ba- ***kpəfí** **bǎ** **lé** **kà-** **mángò** **bó-** **lě**
NCL2 **child** **CL2.DEF** **hold** **NCL4** **mango** **NMLZ** **harvest**
 ‘The children are plucking the mangoes’ (Verbs 524.1)

- 469) **bale** **kakookoo** **kpə**
bá= **lè** **kà-** **kòòkòò** **kpà**
 3PL.NOM.PST = **pluck** NCL4 cocoa many
 ‘He harvested plenty of cocoa’ (Verbs 526.1)
- 470) **ɔlɛ** **ɔtɛntɛ** **lə kase** **woowǎ**
ó= **lè** **ɔtɛntɛ** **lè kàsé** **wò=** **ó-** **wǎ**
 3SG.NOM.PST = **pluck** cocoyam leave just as 3SG.NOM = FUT cook
kutu
kó- ***tù**
 NCL7 soup
 ‘She plucked cocoyam leaves so that she will prepare soup’ (Verbs 525.1)
- 471) **uləkə** **ɔtɛntɛ** **ɔtə** **kutu**
ó= **lókə** **ɔtɛntɛ** **ò=** **tó** **kó-** ***tù**
 3SG.NOM.PST = **remove** cocoyam leave 3SG.NOM = go towards NCL7 soup
kawǎkə
kà- **wǎ** **-kó**
 INF cook PLACE
 ‘She harvested cocoyam leaves to prepare soup’ (Miscellaneous 68.1)

Other verbs of harvest that are used with specific crops are *fódi* and *sìé* and they are illustrated as in:

- 472) **ɔlɛ** **kamə** **kəmə** **bofodi**
ò= **lé** **kà-** ***mó** **ká-** **mó** **bò-** **fódi**
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL4 rice CL4 the NMLZ harvest
 ‘He is harvesting rice’ (Verbs 101.1)
- 473) **ɔlɛ** **abe** **busie**
ò= **lé** **à-** ***bé** **bó-** **sìé**
 3SG.NOM = hold CL6 palmnut NMLZ harvest
 ‘He is harvesting palm fruits’ (Verbs 102.1)

7.2.1.2.7 Verbs of ingestion

Verbs of ingestion describe the processes by which substances such as food, drink and medicine are introduced into the bodies of animate entities. Methods of

ingestion include eating, drinking, licking, chewing and swallowing. The choice of the verb depends on the texture of the substance, which could be solid, semi-solid, or liquid. Verbs that belong to this category in Sekpele are *dí* ‘eat’, *nə* ‘drink’, *míni* ‘swallow’, *yíni* ‘chew’, *nə* ‘bite’, *díá* ‘lick/taste’, *fíó* ‘suck’ and *tú* ‘sip’. The verb *dí* is the generic for eating food and solid substances while *nə* is its liquid counterpart.

This is illustrated in:

- 474) **Kofi edi lesa nəmə**
 Kofi à- dí lè-sá nə- mó
 Kofi PFV eat NCL5-food CL5 the
 ‘Kofi ate the food’ (Verb_morphology 63.1)

- 475) **bedi bilə**
 bá= dí bə- *lǎ
 3PL.NOM.PST= eat NCL12 gruel
 ‘They ate gruel’ (Miscellaneous 75.1)

- 476) **udi diyibibi nə nkpe kalo**
 ó= dí lè- yìbíbí nə̀ ò= kpé kálò
 3SG.NOM.PST= eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL= have bitter
 ‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’ (Adjectives 85.1)

The verb *dí* may take on meanings other than ingestion of food. For instance, if it is used in relation to money, it takes on the meaning of spending. It is also used in relation to inheritance or winning something, as in:

- 477) **se minla minkə meedi sitə**
 sé mì= n- lá mínkə mà= á- dí sítə
 since 1SG.NOM= EMPH want 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM= PROSP spend clay
to atabi , nya minnyə minto
 tò àtábí nyá mì= n- nyá mì= n- tó
 POSS money then 1SG.NOM= EMPH stand 1SG.NOM= EMPH throw
diwi minkase boto
 díwì mì= n- kásé bo- tò
 sweat 1SG.NOM= EMPH study NMLZ mould
 ‘Since I wanted to spend clay money, then I stood and sweated to learn how to mould’

(Pottery 234.1)

- 478) **nko wə tsya lidi seka siã nə** .
 nkò wê tsyâ lè= dí sé- *ká siã nó
 like that 3SG.PN too REL= inherit NCL11 chief CL11.DEF really
 ‘That is how he too inherited the chieftaincy really’ (History_amankrado 3.37)

- 479) **tə wə nkə uudi** [ten million]
 tò wê nkà ó= ò- dí
 ask 3SG.ACC COMP 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT win
uunyə ?
 ó= ò- nyè
 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT see
 ‘Ask him if he had ever won ten million before?’ (Pottery 256.2)

However, not all substances that are ingested use the generic verb. They are restricted to specific verbs depending on their texture and the manner they are taken into the body. The generic for drinking liquids: alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, is **nè**, as in:

- 480) **wuunə ntu**
 wò= ó- nè ntù
 3SG.NOM= FUT drink water
 ‘He will drink water’ (Verbs 15.1)

- 481) **wəənə nte**
 wà= á- nè ntè
 3SG.NOM= HAB drink wine
 ‘He drinks wine or alcohol’ (Verbs 17.1)

- 482) **bənə osokpa olesia**
 bá= nè òsòkpá òlèsíà
 3PL.NOM.PST= drink porridge morning
 ‘They drank porridge in the morning’ (Miscellaneous 73.1)

The verb *nə* is also used in relation to smoking. This phenomenon is cross-linguistic and can be found in most African languages and other languages of the world such as Japanese. This is illustrated in:

- 483) *ole* *katankple* *bunə*
 ò = lɛ kàtànkplɛ *bo-* *nə*
 3SG.NOM = hold smoke-pipe NMLZ *smoke*
 ‘He is smoking a pipe’ (Verbs 389.1)

- 484) *ole* *wii* *bunə*
 ò = lɛ wɪ *bo-* *nə*
 3SG.NOM = hold hemp NMLZ *smoke*
 ‘He is smoking hemp’ (Verbs 390.1)

- 485) *ole* *letama* *bunə*
 ò = lɛ lètàmà *bo-* *nə*
 3SG.NOM = hold tobacco NMLZ *smoke*
 ‘He is smoking tobacco’ (Verbs 391.1)

The verb *fió* is used to express the act of drinking or sipping soup. Although the process involves drinking, the verb *nə* is not used. Instead, the verb *fió* which depicts ‘sipping’ is used. The verb *fió* is used in relation to sucking a liquid substance from its container. It is mostly used in relation to fruits. The verb *yími* is used for breastfeeding. The verb *yími* has a tonal contrast compared to the verb *yími* ‘chew’ which is treated below. In a case where one sips a drink, the verb *tú* is used to refer to such an act, as in:

- 486) *ole* *kutu* *bufio*
 ò = lɛ kó- *tù *bò-* *fió*
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL7 soup NMLZ *sip*
 ‘He is sipping soup’ (Miscellaneous 83.1)

- 487) *ubi* *əmə* *le* *dikutu* *bɔfiɔ*
 ò- *bí á- mɔ lɛ lè- *kùtù *bò-* *fió*
 NCL1 child CL1 the hold NCL5 orange NMLZ *suck*
 ‘The child is sucking an orange’ (Verbs 387.1)

The verb **yími** is used with substances that are chewed, while the verb **díá** is used with those that are licked or tasted, as in:

494) **waayimɪ** **kamɔ** **lefe** **saa**
wà= **á-** **yɪmì** **kàmó** **lèfè** **sàà**
3SG.NOM= HAB **chew** **rice** **time** **each**
 ‘He eats rice always’ (Verbs 5.1)

495) **ɔlə** **sɪnə** **fɪmfɪ** **bəyɪmɪ**
 ò = lé sɪnə fɪmfɪ bò- yímì
 3SG.NOM = hold meat roasted **NMLZ** **chew**
 ‘He is eating roasted meat’ (Verbs 118.1)

496) **ɔlɛ** **akpɛ** **sənsə** **bɔyɪmɪ**
 ò = lé a- *kpɛ sɛnsɛ **bɔ̀-** **yɪmì**
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 fish fried **NMLZ** **chew**
 ‘He is eating fried fish’ (Verbs 122.1)

497) **odia** **siə** **siəmə** **obe**
ɔ = **diá** sé- *nə sí- mə ó = bè
3SG.NOM.PST = **taste** NCL11 meat CL11 the 3SG.NOM.PST = see
‘He tasted the meat’ (Verbs 60.1)

7.2.1.2.8 ‘Peel’ verbs

Peeling verbs describe the process of removing the outer layer of items. The choice of verb depends on the texture of the item and the instrument needed to do the peeling. The tougher the skin, the more likely a sharp instrument would be required to peel it off thoroughly. Some items will require just the use of the bare hand while others will require a combination of both the hand and a sharp instrument such as a knife. There are two verbs that are used in relation to peeling in Sekpele: *wé* ‘peel/carve’ and *fɛ* ‘peel/split’. The verb *wé* is used in relation to tough-coated items which require a sharp instrument to peel thoroughly. The verb *wé* is also used in

relation to carpentry due to the use of a plane to straighten and to make a surface smooth. The use of **wé** is illustrated in:

- 498) **ɔle** **dikutu** **bowe**
 ò = lé lè- *kùtù **bó-** **wé**
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL5 orange NMLZ **carve**
 ‘He is peeling an orange’ (Miscellaneous 80.1)

- 499) **weewe** **akpome** **ku mpa**
wà = **á-** **wé** à- *kpòmé kú ò- *pâ
 3SG.NOM = HAB **carve** NCL6 stool and NCL10 bed
 ‘He carves stools and beds’ (Miscellaneous 81.1)

- 500) **owe** **ɔpunu** **utsyə** **lə**
ó = **wé** ò- *pùnú **ó =** tsyè **lɔ**
 3SG.NOM.PST = **carve** NCL3 table 3SG.NOM.PST = put LOC
obia
 òbíá
 community centre
 ‘He has carved a table and put it at the community centre’ (Miscellaneous 82.1)

The verb **fè** on the other hand is used in relation to an item whose surface is relatively soft and will only require the use of the bare hand and/or partial application of an instrument. It is also used in relation to items that are split open into two halves, as in:

- 501) **ufe** **legbedi utəkə** **lə** **ateke**
ó = **fè** lègbèdì **ó =** tóká **lɔ** àtèké
 3SG.NOM.PST = **peel** cassava 3SG.NOM.PST = put on LOC stove
 ‘She peeled cassava and put it on the stove’ (Miscellaneous 78.1)

- 502) **ufe** **oklotia** **ɔle** **bunə**
ó = **fè** ò- *klòtia ò = lé bò- **nɔ**
 3SG.NOM.PST = **peel** NCL3 banana 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ bite
 ‘He peeled a banana and is eating it’ (Miscellaneous 79.1)

7.2.1.2.9 Body-grooming

Verbs of body grooming describe the processes by which humans take care of their body. They include *lɔ* ‘repair’, *flɔ* ‘wash/bath’, *dɪkɪ* ‘smear’, *kpɔ* ‘pour’, *kɔ* ‘trim’, *kpɪ* ‘shave’, *kpɛ* ‘wear’, *tɪ* ‘cover’, *lé* ‘hold’, *nyímí* ‘wrap’ and *klé* ‘tie’. The verb *lɔ* is the generic term for body grooming, and describes the general process of taking care of the body as in:

- 503) *ɔlɔ* *əsua tinti*
ɔ= *lɔ* *əsúə tintì*
 3SG.NOM.PST= repair body really
 ‘She has groomed herself really’ (Miscellaneous 84.1)

- 504) *bale* *okafɔ* *əmə* *bɔlɔ*
bà= *lé* *ò-* **kàfɔ* *á-* *má* *bó-* *lɔ*
 3PL.NOM= hold NCL1 bride CL1 the NMLZ repair
 ‘They are grooming the bride’ (Miscellaneous 85.1)

The verb *lɔ* is also used to describe the process of reshaping a substance, rekindling and repeating an event. This is illustrated in:

- 505) *lɔ* *nsɪ* *kenke* *ko* *mɔlɔ*
lɔ *ń=* *sí* *kéŋké* *kò* *mò=* *ó-* *lɔ*
 if 1SG.NOM.PST= wipe off all then 1SG.NOM= FUT repair
nkpr , *mɔlɔ* *nkpr* *kalo* *mfo*
ń= *kpì* *mò=* *ó-* *lɔ* *ń=* *kpì* *kálɔ* *ɲfɔ*
 1SG.NOM= scrape 1SG.NOM= FUT repair 1SG.NOM= scrape under here
kenke
kéŋké
 all
 ‘If I wipe it off completely then I will again scrape it, I will again scrape the bottom here completely’ (Pottery 187.1)

- 506) **nyafěě fuufi ubisia əmə ətəkə ateke**
 nyáfěě fô = ó- fĩ ù-bìsîà á- mǎ à = tókǎ àtèké
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT take NCL3-palm oil CL3 the 2SG.NOM put on stove
alo utə bokpe itu ebe .
 à = lǝ ùtǎ bǝ- kpé è = tú è = bé
 2SG.NOM repair fire NMLZ put 3SG.NOM = be boil 3SG.NOM be cook
 ‘Then you will put the palm oil on the fire and rekindle the fire to boil and cook’
 (Palm_oil 16.4)

- 507) **buusi balo bakpadi wə**
 bǝ = ó- sí bǎ = lǝ bǎ = kpádí wǝ
 3PL.NOM = FUT still 3PL.NOM = repair 3PL.NOM = call 3SG.ACC
sinuǎfə bətə bote nkə
 sǝ- *núǎ -fǎ bǎ = tǎ bǝ- tǝ íkǎ
 CL11 two ORD 3PL.NOM = give NMLZ know that
bakabebe ubi .
 bǎ = kǎ- bǝbǝ ò- *bí
 3PL.NOM = PROG search NCL1 child
 ‘They will still call him again a second time to give knowledge that they should be searching for a child’
 (King_making 12.3)

The verb *flǎ* is used to describe the process of washing the body with water. The process may involve any part of the body or the entire body as a whole. It is also used in the process of ritual cleansing. When one commits a taboo, a woman is in her menstrual cycle or gives birth, s/he is considered to be unclean until the rites are performed. The use of the verb *flǎ* is illustrated in:

- 508) **lǎ bedi lesa nǝmə , biufle**
 lǎ bá = dí lǝ- *sǎ nǎ- mǎ bǝ = ó- flǎ
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 thing CL5 the 2PL.NOM = FUT wash
kǝnɪ lǎ ntu bomfó .
 kǝ- *nǐ lǎ n- *tù bǝ- mfó
 NCL7 arm LOC NCL10 water CL10 that
 ‘If they eat the food, you will wash your hands in that water’ (Naming_ceremony 5.1)

- 509) **nya ntu bomfóó , mu buufi**
 nyá ní- *tù bó- mfó = mú bò= ó- fí
 then NCL10 water CL10 that =TOP CL10.EMPH 3PL.NOM= FUT take
bəfləsə dɪkpəfi nəmə .
bà= flá -sə lè- *kpófí ná- má
 3PL.NOM= wash CAUS NCL5 child CL5 the
 ‘Then that water, it is it they will use to bathe the child’ (Naming_ceremony 6.1)

- 510) **lə koko to nyamfoo , itə utəŋku** ,
 là kókó tò nyàmfõ = è= tá òtəŋkù
 LOC old POSS this =TOP 3SG.NOM= be.at menstrual blood
kɔtɔ ko lekpoo , balɛ ko
 kó- *tò kuã lè= kpó = bà= lé kó
 NCL7 blood CL7.REL.PRO REL= pour =TOP 3PL.NOM= hold CL7.ACC
buflə .
bó- flá
NMLZ wash
 ‘In the past, it is like menstrual blood, the blood which drops, they are washing it’
 (Naming_ceremony 2.2)

The verb **díkí** is used to describe the process of smearing body lotion, creams and oils on the body, as illustrated in (511) and (512). The verb **kpó** is used for the process of pouring powder and fragrances onto the body, as illustrated in (513):

- 511) **udiki nnuəbi bomə lə wə əsuə**
ó= dɪkɪ ní- *nùəbí bó- má lə wə əsúə
 3SG.NOM.PST= smear NCL10 oil CL10 the LOC 3SG.POSS body
 ‘He smeared the oil on his body’ (Verbs 312.1)
- 512) **ufi ufunu sia udiki**
ó= fí ùfɪnù sé -à ó= dɪkɪ
 3SG.NOM.PST= take powder become red ADJV 3SG.NOM.PST= smear
wə əsuə
 wə əsúə
 3SG.POSS body
 ‘He coated himself with red powder’ (Verbs 313.1)

- 513) **se** **bəəmuə** **fə** **ko** , [**powder**] **ini**
 sé bá= à- múá fə kò è= ní
 when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV catch 2SG.ACC then 3SG.NOM= be
oyele **lee** **əbəbə** **bookpo** **fə** **lə** **əsua**
 òyèlè léé əbəbə bə= ó- **kpó** fə lá əsúà
 white chalk or white chalk 3PL.NOM= FUT **pour** 2SG.ACC LOC top of
 ‘When they had caught you then, powder which is white chalk or white chalk they will pour on you’
 (King_making 2.32)

The verb **kɔ** describes the process of trimming the hair and nails of the body, as in:

- 514) **Kofi** **ako** **disi**
 Kofi à- **kɔ** dísi
 Kofi PFV **trim** head
 ‘Kofi has trimmed his hair’ (Miscellaneous 86.1)
- 515) **əko** **wə** **bəfiə** **tsya**
 ó= **kɔ** wə bè- *fĩ tsyâ
 3SG.NOM.PST= **trim** 3SG.POSS NCL12 nail too
 ‘He has also trimmed his nail too’ (Miscellaneous 87.1)

The verb **kpí** describes the process of shaving the hair of the body. It is used in reference to the shaving of the beard, as in (516). It is also used in ritualistic performance where one’s hair is shaved to undergo a cleansing process. This process is referred to as **dísikpíkpi** ‘cleansing’²⁹, as in (517).

- 516) **əkpɪ** **wə** **ukpi**
 ó= **kpí** wə úkpì
 3SG.NOM.PST= **shave** 3SG.POSS beard
 ‘He shaved his beard’ (Miscellaneous 88.1)
- 517) **bale** **disikpíkpi** **to** **lekpa** **buyifo**
 bà= lé dísi kpí kpí tò lé- *kpá bə- yífó
 3PL.NOM= hold head shave shave POSS NCL5 custom NMLZ do
 ‘They are performing a cleansing rite’ (Miscellaneous 89.1)

²⁹ These days, one does not necessarily shave off their hair. He or she presents a pot of palm-wine and some items requested by the elders of the community to undergo the cleansing process. The shaving of hair is mostly mandatory when the person is said to have committed a serious taboo.

The verb *kpé* is used to describe the process of wearing clothes and other ornaments on the body, as in (518) and (519). When the object being worn occurs as the subject, the verb takes an existential meaning, thus, the object exists on the specific part body of the person wearing it (see §9.5). This is illustrated in (520) and (521):

- 518) **okpe** **awu** **nyamə**
ó= **kpé** àwù nyá- mǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST= wear clothing CL3 the
 ‘He wore the garment’ (Verbs 62.1)

- 519) **itsyise** **sita** **sini** **əbona** **eso** ,
 ítsyisé sè- *tǎ sè= ní à= bó- ná ésò
 because NCL11 soil CL11.NOM= be 2SG.NOM FUT become dirty therefore
awukuku te **boakpe** **kato** .
 àwù *kùkù tè **bó=** á- **kpé** kà- tò
 clothing piece only 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB wear INF mould
 ‘Because it is clay and you will get dirty therefore, we only wear rag clothing to mould’
 (Pottery 60.3)

- 520) **atoge** **kpe** **lə** **usio** **ǎ** **to** **ato**
 à- tógè **kpé** lǎ ò- *sìó ǎ tò à- *tó
 NCL6 earring exist LOC NCL1 woman CL1.DEF POSS NCL6 ear
 ‘There are earrings on the woman's ears’ (Locative_verbs 8.1)

- 521) **lesukpe** **kpe** **wə** **lə** **anɪ**
 lè- súkpé **kpé** wè lǎ à- *nɪ
 NCL5 ring exist 3SG.ACC LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘A ring is on her hand’ (Locative_verbs 8.1)

The verb *tí* is used to describe the process of wearing a cap/hat on the head of men and the wrapping of a cloth for men while the verb *lé* and *nyími* are used for the act of wrapping cloth by women. Traditionally, men wrap their cloth hanging from the shoulder downwards while women wrap theirs on their waist. Men will only lower their cloth to the waist level when performing a rite such as offering libation,

swearing an oath, dancing or paying homage to a deity or a chief/king. The use of verbs *tí*, *lé* and *nyími* are illustrated in:

(Buying_name 40.3)

- 527) **lə oframe te bəələkə bəətə**
 lá òfiàmé tè bá= à- lókà bá= à- tó
 if handkerchief only 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV remove 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give
fə bəə nyə diye to oframe la ,
 fə bəə nyə diyê tò òfiàmé lá
 2SG.ACC 3PL.COMP see name POSS handkerchief TOP
ekpa . nya fookle
 é= kpá nyá fə= ó- klé
 3SG.NOM.PST= become clear then 2SG.NOM= FUT tie
 ‘If only a handkerchief they give you that this is a name's handkerchief, it is clear. Then you
 will tie’
 (Buying_name 49.5/50.1)

7.2.1.2.10 Verbs of caused change of location

Verbs of caused change of location describe a process whereby an agent causes an item or themselves to move from one location to another. The agent is expressed as the subject while the theme is the object. Verbs of caused change in Sekpele include **nə** ‘pull/drag’, **kə** ‘push’, **tó** ‘throw’, **tá** ‘kick/shoot’, **ká** ‘ride/drive’, **tsyí** ‘carry’, **fí** ‘take’ and **sónə** ‘drop/off-load’. The verb **nə** is used to describe the pulling or dragging effect of an item by the agent. It is also used in relation to stretching items, including the human body. The use of the verb **nə** is illustrated in:

- 528) **unə bitsyikə biəmə**
 ó= nə bè- *tsyíkə bíá- mé
 3SG.NOM.PST= pull NCL12 load CL12 the
 ‘He pulled the packages’
 (Verbs 72.1)

- 529) **əbuɸi** **ontayibi** **məə** , **abodi**
 à= bó- ɸ ò- *ntá *yìbí mó = à= bòdì
 2SG.NOM FUT take NCL3 maize stick like this =TOP 2SG.NOM rub
mə **əno** **se** **fiə** **fiə** **fiə** **fiə** **fiə** ... [
 mó à= nò sé ɸíé ɸíé ɸíé ɸíé ɸíé
 like this 2SG.NOM drag CL11.ACC straight straight straight straight straight
fine].
 ‘You will take a maize stick like this, rub like this and drag it straight ... fine’ (Pottery 50.2)

- 530) **nya** **foota** **nya** **buyifo** **letake** **nya**
 nyá ɸò= ó- tá nyá bò= yífo le- táké nyá
 then 2SG.NOM= FUT shoot then 1PL.NOM= make NCL5 yarn then
wɔ̃ **leedi** **mfiə** **luubə**
 wɔ̃ lè= á- dī n- *fiá lè= ó- bó
 3SG.REL.PRO REL= HAB weave NCL10 cloth REL= FUT come
wuuflo **əno** **leba** .
 wò= ó- ɸlɔ à= nò lèbà
 3SG.NOM= FUT clean 2SG.NOM drag rock
 ‘Then you shoot then we will make a yarn, then the one who weaves clothes who will come
 and clean, then you pull rock’
 (Good_old_days 2.8)

The verb **kə** is used to describe the pushing effect of an item by an agent. It is also used in relation to swimming. The rationale is that the swimmer pushes the water backward with his/her hands to thrust themselves forward. The use of the verb **kə** is illustrated in:

- 531) **ukə** **bitsyikə** **biəmə**
 ó= kə bè- *tsyíkɔ bíɔ- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST= push NCL12 load CL12 the
 ‘He pushed the packages’
 (Verbs 73.1)

- 532) **nya se yəbutəkə ko , wə bufi anɪ**
 nyá sé yà= bó- táká kò wê bô- fĩ à- *nĩ
 then when 3SG.NOM= FUT be on then 3SG.PN ANT take NCL8 arm
ukə itə bǎ nle
 ó= kə é= tá bǎ ñ= lé
 3SG.NOM.PST= push 3SG.NOM.PST= give 3PL.REL.PRO REL= hold
 fə .
 fə
 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then when it will be on then he had taken his hands to push for those holding you’
 (King_making 2.41)

- 533) **osani əmə əkə ntu məmlə**
 ò- *sàñí á- mó á- kə ñtù məmló
 NCL1 man CL1 the HAB swim water quickly
 ‘The man swims quickly’ (Verbs 167.1)

- 534) **osaibi əmə əkə oyala ketu**
 ò- *sàñbí á- mó à- kə ó= yàlá ka- *tù
 NCL1 boy CL1 the PFV swim 3SG.NOM.PST= go across NCL4 stream
kəmə
 ka- mó
 CL4 the
 ‘The boy swam across the river’ (Verbs 168.1)

The verb **tó** is used to express the process where the agent throws an object, as illustrated in:

- 535) **oto lebambi nəmə**
 ó= tó lè- *bà -n- -bí nǎ- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST= throw NCL5 rock LIG DIM CL5 the
 ‘He threw the stone’ (Verbs 184.1)

- 536) **oto** **wə** **awu** **okpe** **lə**
ó= **tó** **wó** **àwù** **ó=** **kpé** **lè**
3SG.NOM.PST= throw **3SG.POSS** **clothing** **3SG.NOM.PST=** **put** **LOC**
ekubi əsuə
 a- *kùbí àsúà
 CL6 rubbish body
 ‘He threw his garment into the rubbish’ (Verbs 235.1)

- 537) **oto** **wə** **afɔkpa** **okpe**
ó= **tó** **wó** **à-** ***fɔkpá** **ó=** **kpé**
3SG.NOM.PST= throw **3SG.POSS** **NCL6** **footwear** **3SG.NOM.PST=** **put**
 ‘He threw his footwear away’ (Verbs 236.1)

The verb *tá* is used to express the process where the agent kicks an object with their foot. It can also be used in a situation where the agent pulls a trigger to cause the object or any entity associated with the object to thrust forward, such as in the case of a gun. This is illustrated in:

- 538) **ota** **bolu əmə**
ó= **tá** **bólù** **á-** **mé**
3SG.NOM.PST= kick **ball** **CL3** **the**
 ‘He kicked the ball’ (Verbs 220.1)

- 539) **ota** **kokpa okpa** **əmə**
ó= **tá** **kókpà** **ò-** ***kpá** **á-** **mé**
3SG.NOM.PST= kick **leg** **NCL1** **dog** **CL1** **the**
 ‘He kicked the dog with his leg’ (Verbs 221.1)

- 544) **lə betsyi** **fə** **babesə** **kato** , **fěě**
 lá bá = **tsyí** fə bá = bé -sə kàtô fěě
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = **carry** 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST = raise CAUS up before
fəbusiə **la** , **omankrado** **ufi**
 fā = bó- síá lá o- *máŋkràdò ó = **fí**
 2SG.NOM = FUT sit TOP NCL1 king making 3SG.NOM.PST = **take**
anɪ **okpe** **nini** **kalo mə**
 à- *nī ó = kpé níni kálò mǎ
 NCL8 arm 3SG.NOM.PST = put CL5.POSS down like this
 ‘If they carry and raise you up, before you will sit, the king maker, he put his hands under it
 like this’ (King_making 2.40)

- 545) **ufi** **kukuə** **kuə** **diyifo** **bekebeke**
 ó = **fí** kò- *kùə kuə lè = yífó békébéké
 3SG.NOM.PST = **take** NCL7 book CL7.REL.PRO REL = do thin
 ‘He took the book which is thin’ (Adjectives 57.1)

- 546) **ufi** **dikplibi** **nəmə** **utsyə** **lə**
 ó = **fí** le- *kplíbi nǎ- mǎ ó = tsyè lá
 3SG.NOM.PST = **take** NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = put LOC
dibu **nəmə** **kafo**
 lè- *bū nǎ- mǎ kǎfô
 NCL5 hut CL5 the inside
 ‘He put the pot inside the hut’ (Location_nouns 1.1)

The verb **sónɔ** can be said to be the opposite of **tsyí** and **fí**. It expresses the situation where the agent drops or off-loads an item from a higher level to a lower surface. When the verb **sónɔ** is used with animate entities, it takes the interpretation of lodging or settling in a location. The use of the verb **sónɔ** is illustrated in:

- 547) **ənni** **butsyiko** **beetsyi**
 è = n- ní bò- tsyí -kó bá = á- tsyí
 3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ carry ASSOC 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry
ko **kesu** **kasɔnɔ** **ni** **kətsyə** .
 kó kǎ- sù kǎ- **sónɔ** ní kǎ- tsyè
 CL7.ACC INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
 ‘It isn’t like that they carry it along to off-load’ (Buying_name 39.1)

548)	bafɔ	bǎ	asɔnɔ	lɔ	mɔ	diyo		
	bá-	*fǎ	bǎ	à-	sónɔ	lɔ	mó=	lè- *yó
	NCL2	guest	CL2.DEF	PFV	lodge	LOC	1SG.POSS=	NCL5 house
	‘The guests lodged in my house’							(Miscellaneous 95.1)

7.2.1.2.11 Inherent complement verbs

Sekpele, like most Kwa languages, has a large set of verbs that take obligatory complements. A verb and its complement determine the semantics of the verb phrase. These verbs are also known as ‘light verbs’ (Dorvlo, 2008:133; Lefebvre & Brousseau, 2002) due to the fact that their generic meaning has little or no effect on the semantics of the verb phrase. They are also referred to as inherent complement verbs (Essegbey, 1999; Nwachukwu, 1987:22). There is a semantic bond between inherent complements and their associated verbs. A pronominalization test distinguishes between the objects of transitive verbs and inherent complements (Anyanwu, 2012:1561). Whereas the object complement of transitive verbs can be pronominalized, inherent complements cannot. A list of verb phrases that fall in this categorization and their meanings is provided in appendix 5.

There are two categorises of inherent complement verb phrases: linked and separated. Whereas some verbs and their complements are linked together morphosyntactically, others are separated. In a linked verb phrase, the tone of the verb spreads onto its complement. For instance, if the last verb or only tone of the verb is high and the initial tone of the complement is low, the high tone of the verb spreads to its complement. In most cases, the entire tonality of the verb phrase is high. Verb phrases that belong to this category include *bé kátó* ‘increase/rise’, *bé létsyá* ‘announce’, *bó kásó* ‘decrease’, *fó káyó* ‘pay’, *kpé kéní* ‘poison’, *lé úbí* ‘give birth’, *só mbí* ‘fart’ and *tó kúsú* ‘permit/allow’. This is illustrated in:

- 549) **okpe** **kéni** **utə** **usio** **əmə**
ó= **kpé kèní** **ó=** **tá** **o-** ***sìó** **a-** **má**
 3SG.NOM.PST= **put poison** 3SG.NOM.PST= **give NCL1** **woman CL1** **the**
 ‘He poisoned the woman’ (Verbs 485.1)
- 550) **wəətə** **kúsu meesu** **mfó**
wà= **á-** **tá** **kùsú** **mà=** **á-** **sù** **m̀fó**
 3SG.NOM= **HAB** **give road** 1SG.NOM= **HAB** **go there**
 ‘He allows me to go there’ (Verbs 436.1)
- 551) **fenkə** **se** **baale** **bébi** **mmi** **Kəsida** **la**
fěnkə **sé** **bá=** **à-** **lé** **bà-** ***bí** **m̀mì** **K̀əsídá** **lá**
 assuming when 3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **give birth NCL2** **child** today Sunday TOP
 , **Akəsua** **ku** **K̀əsí** **te** **bookpo** **mə** .
Àk̀əsúá **kú** **K̀əsí** **tè** **b̀ò=** **ó-** **kpó** **má**
 Sunday-born female and Sunday-born male only 3PL.NOM= **FUT** **call** 3PL.ACC
 ‘Assuming as they gave birth to children today Sunday, Akosua and Korsi they will call them’
 (Naming ceremony 31.1)

Observation of examples (549), (550) and (551) show that the underlying forms of the complements *kèní*, *kùsú* and *bébi* are realised in the output as *kéni*, *kúsu* and *bébi* respectively. They assume these outputs because they are connected to the verb as a compound and form a prosodic word. It does not matter if there are several intervening words between the verb and the complement, the high tone of the verb is carried onto the complement so far as it follows the verb to show that they are linked together. This is illustrated in:

- 552) **obe** **ukpə** **əmə** **eto** **letsya lə** **umə**
ó= **bé** **ò-** ***kpə** **á-** **má** **étò** **létsyá** **lá** **ó-** ***m̀ə**
 3SG.NOM.PST= **climb up** NCL3 **death** CL3 **the** POSS **roof** LOC NCL3 **town**
əmə
á- **má**
CL3 **the**
 ‘He announced the news of the death in the town’ (Verbs 439.1)

553)	ofo		wə		diyo		eto		káyo
	ó =		fó		wó		lè- *yó		étò kàyó
	3SG.NOM.PST =		pay		3SG.POSS		NCL5 house		POSS debt
	olosə								
	ó =		lò		-sə				
	3SG.NOM.PST =		be finish		CAUS				
	'He has finished paying for his house'						(Verbs 483.1)		

However if the verb and its complement occur in a situation where they are delinked from each other, the tone of the verb does not influence the complement. For instance, in a present progressive construction, the verb becomes nominalised and does not function as the syntactic verb. The noun complement occurs before the nominalised verb and they both occur as the complement of the syntactic verb. However they are linked semantically. Since the verb has been nominalised, its influence on its inherent complement is minimal. This is illustrated in:

554)	ketu		kəmə		lɛ		kato bobe
	ká-	*tù	ká-	mó	lé		kàtô bó- bɛ
	NCL4	stream	CL4	the	hold	up	NMLZ climb up
	'The river is rising'						(Verbs 243.1)

555)	ɔlɛ		oka		əmə		sikpi		bote
	ò =		lé		ó-		*ká á-		mó sɪkpí bó- té
	3SG.NOM =		hold		NCL1		chief		CL1 the frighten NMLZ show
	'He is afraid of the chief'						(Verbs 478.1)		

Verb phrases whose verb and noun complement are not linked have the same tonality as their underlining form. Verb phrases in this category include *dí ètíkí* 'speak', *kósó òkó* 'cough', *kpé àfíí* 'tickle', *sé àkònkí* 'kneel', *tsyə kàsó* 'start', *tsyə ɲwé* 'rest' and *sə kúsə* 'sing'. This is illustrated in:

- 556) **lə eedi etiki lə awɔ̃ əsuə , lee fə**
lá à= á- dí à- *tíkí lá à- *wɔ̃ əsúə léé fə
 if 2SG.NOM HAB eat NCL6 word LOC NCL6 nose top of or 2SG.POSS
etiki memyifo [sound] bæə abo
à- *tíkí n- à- n- yífó bádè à= bó
 NCL6 word NEG PFV NEG do 3PL.COMP 2SG.NOM get out
ənyə edi etiki utidi nɔ la ,
à= nyó à= dí à- *tíkí ò- *tídi nò lá
 2SG.NOM stand 2SG.NOM eat NCL6 word NCL1 person hear TOP
bəmbə fə bofo .
bà= n- bó fə bó- fə
 3PL.NOM= NEG come 2SG.ACC NMLZ accept
 ‘If you nasalize your speech, or your speech isn't sound such that you get out and speak for a
 person to hear, they won't accept you (King_making 2.24)

- 557) **wəəfə ɔfimi bembembe**
wà= á- fə ɔ́fímì bémbémbé
 3SG.NOM= HAB blow whistle very hard
 ‘He whistles loudly’ (Verbs 452:1)

- 558) **nya eso edzebe lə ətsyə kaso kase**
nyá ésô é= dzébé lá à= tsyè kàsô kàsé
 therefore 3SG.NOM.PST= be necessary HORT 2SG.NOM put down how
footonsə .
fò= ó- tò -n- -sə
 2SG.NOM= FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘Therefore it is necessary that you start from how you will burn it’ (Soap_making 9.1)

Some verbs have the same root form as their noun complement such that it is possible to drop the complement so long as the verb is not ambiguous. In a present progressive construction, either the noun complement or the nominalised verb can be dropped without altering the semantics of the clause. However, in cases of homonymic verbs, keeping the noun complement and dropping the nominalised verb is preferred to avoid ambiguity. Verbs in Sekpele which have the same root form as

their complements are *mə* ‘smile/laugh’, *wì* ‘dance’ and *sə* ‘sing’. This is illustrated in:

559) a) *ɔle* *simə bumə*
 ò = lé *símə bó- mə*
 3SG.NOM = hold **smile** **NMLZ** **smile**
 ‘He is laughing’ (Verbs 210.1)

b) *ɔle* *bumə*
 ò = lé *bó- mə*
 3SG.NOM = hold **NMLZ** **smile**
 ‘He is laughing’ (Verbs 211.1)

560) a) *ɔle* (*kewi*) (*buwi*)
 ò = lé *kéwì bó- wì*
 3SG.NOM = hold **dance** **NMLZ** **dance**
 ‘He is dancing’ (Verbs 251.1)

b) *ɔle* *kewi buwi* *ku kɔnɔ*
 ò = lé *kéwì bó- wì kú kɔnɔ*
 3SG.NOM = hold **dance** **NMLZ** **dance** with good
 ‘He is performing a beautiful dance’ (Verbs 252.1)

561) a) *efe sə dzawale to kusə kutsyua ətə bo*
*èfè sè dzawale tò kó- *sə kó- tsyúá à = tá bò*
 now **sing** Dzawale POSS **NCL7** **song** **CL7** some 2SG.NOM give 1PL.ACC
 ε
 = ε
 = TOP
 ‘Now sing a Dzawale song for us’ (Good_old_days 18.1)

b) *ɔle* *kusə busə*
 ò = lé *kúsə bó- sə*
 3SG.NOM = hold **song** **NMLZ** **sing**
 ‘He is singing’ (Verbs 130.1)

The verbs *wì* ‘dance’ and *sə* ‘sing’ are homonymic such that they also have the meanings ‘cry’ and ‘fry’ respectively. Dropping the noun complement may lead to the ambiguity of ‘dance/cry’ and ‘sing/fry’, as illustrated below:

- 562) a) **usio** **əmə** **ewi** **keku kənə**
 ò- *sìó á- mǎ à- wì kèkú kənǎ
 NCL1 woman CL1 the PFV cry cry yesterday
 ‘The woman cried yesterday’ (verbs 208.1)
- b) **weenwi** **kolefè**
wà= **á-** **n-** **wì** **kó-** **léfè**
3SG.NOM= **HAB** **NEG** **cry/dance** **NEG** **time**
 ‘S/he never cries/dances’ (Adverbs 62.1)
- c) **ɔlɛ** **keku itsyise** **okpe** **lə** **lɛwɛnlo** **əsua**
 ò = lé kèkú ítsyísé ò = kpé lá lɛwɛnlo əsúà
 3SG.NOM = hold cry because 3SG.NOM = exist LOC distress top of
 ‘He is crying because he is sad’ (Adverbs 35.1)
- 563) a) **ɔlɛ** **akpe** **nyəmə** **busə**
 ò = lé à- *kpé nyá- mǎ bó- sà
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 fish CL6 the NMLZ fry
 ‘He is frying the fishes’ (Verbs 121.1)
- b) **ɔlɛ** **busə**
 ò = lé bó- sà
 3SG.NOM = hold NMLZ sing/fry
 ‘He is singing/frying’ (Verbs 130.1)
- c) **ɔlɛ** **kusə**
 ò = lé kúsà
 3SG.NOM = hold song
 ‘He is singing’ (Verbs 130.1)

Example 562a has the full representation of the verb phrase and it expresses the activity of crying. Example 562b has dropped the noun complement which makes the clause ambiguous between the activity of crying and dancing. Example 562c has the nominalised verb dropped and the state of affairs can be deduced from the noun complement. This sentence explicitly expresses the state of crying. In example 563a, the noun complement *àkpé* ‘fishes’ makes it clear the verb *sà* is not ‘sing’ but ‘fry’.

564) udi oka əmə etiki
ó= dí ó- *ká á- mó à- *tíkí
3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL1 chief CL1 the NCL6 word
‘He spoke to the chief’
(Verbs 138.1)

565) bookpadi wə batɔ wə etiki
bò= ó- kpádí wè bà= t̀ wè à- *tíkí
3PL.NOM = FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = ask 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
bətsyə wə etiki lə ənəmí fenkə kase
bà= tsyè wè à- *tíkí ló à- *nèmí fê níkè kàsé
3PL.NOM = put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word LOC NCL6 eye like that how
baale kole
bá= á- lé k̀lé
3PL.NOM.PST = HAB hold advice
‘They will call him to ask questions to put questions before his face like how they give advice’
(King making 12.2)

- 566) **biusi** **bekpadi** **mi** **betidi** **klokoto**
 bè= ó- sí bè= kpádí mí bà- *tídi klókótó
 2PL.NOM= FUT still 2PL.NOM= call 2PL.POSS NCL2 person piece
klokoto klokoto bisia bilaka etiki a
 klókótó klókótó bè= síá bè= lókà à- *tíkí á
 piece piece 2PL.NOM= sit 2PL.NOM= reveal NCL6 word CL6.DEF
 ‘You will still call your people piece by piece and sit to reveal the message’
 (History_amankrado 11.10)

- 567) **oni** **etiki** **nyã** **bætaka**
 ó= nî à- *tíkí nyã bá= à- táká
 3SG.NOM.PST= refuse NCL6 word CL6.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put on
lè wə əsuə
 lè wə əsúè
 LOC 3SG.ACC body
 ‘He denied the accusation levelled against him’ (Verbs 437.1)

The second test involves varying the noun complement with a specific verb. Verbs that can take various noun complements include *bé* ‘climb’, *kpé* ‘put’, *tə* ‘give’ and *tó* ‘throw’. The data below show verb phrases with the verbs *kpé* and *tó*. See appendix 5 for more verb phrases.

- 568) a) **okpe** **wə** **sikpi** **nkə woolo** **wə**
 ó= kpé wə sɪkpí nkə wò= ó- lò wə
 3SG.NOM.PST= put 3SG.ACC frighten that 3SG.NOM= FUT kill 3SG.ACC
 ‘He threatened to kill him’ (Verbs 442.1)

- b) **bəbə** **wã** **edisabi** **ini**
 bá= bó wã à- dí *sá -bí è= ní
 3PL.NOM.PST= come cook NCL6 eat thing DIM 3SG.NOM= be
aloku bəbə bakpe keni
 àlòkù bá= bó bá= kpé ka- *ní
 meat hide 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= put NCL4 dirt
 ‘They came to cook a dish which is meat hide and put poison into it’
 (History_amankrado 3.81)

- 569) a) **lə bato ola** **mfó balosə** **la**
 lá bá= **tó** **ólá** m̀fó bá= **lò** -sə lá
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= **throw** **prayer** there 3PL.NOM.PST= be finish CAUS TOP
 , **boola** **ubuki** **bala** **kɔtə** **komə**
 b̀= ó- là o- *bùkí bà= là kó- *tə kó- má
 3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM= cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
 ‘If they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’
 (King_making 2.47)

- b) **waato** **atsyolo**
 wà= á- **tó** àtsyòlò
 3SG.NOM= HAB **throw** **riddle**
 ‘He tells riddles’ (Verbs 137.1)

7.2.1.3 Trivalent verbs

A trivalent or ditransitive verb is one that has three core participants. It involves the agent, the goal, and the theme. In another instance, it may involve ‘the effector’, the patient, and the instrument. The number of trivalent verbs in Səkpəle are relatively few and they include *tə* ‘give’, *tə* ‘ask’, *təí* ‘tell’, *té* ‘show/teach’, and *tsyése* ‘send’. The agent takes the subject role while the recipient and the theme are the direct and indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is irreversible. This is illustrated in:

- 570) **se utə** **fə** **ote** **eso** , **lə**
 sé ò= **tə** fə ò- *tə ésò lá
 when 3SG.NOM= **give** 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat therefore if
ukpəə , **buutə** **fə** **kafia** .
 ò= kpó = **b̀=** ó- **tə** fə kà- *fiá
 3SG.NOM= to die =TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT **give** 2SG.ACC NCL9 cloth
 ‘Therefore that period, since she gave you a goat therefore if she dies, they will give you cloth’
 (Buying_name 40.2)

- 571) **bǎ** **to** **aye** **bobǎ** **nsi** **mfo** **kola**
 bǎ tò à- *yê bòbǎ ñ = sí m̃fō kólá
 3PL.REL.PRO POSS NCL6 name 1PL.REL.PRO REL = dwell here even
lenyi **Onanto** **ate** **mə** **asa** **əmfō** .
 lè = n- yí ònántó à- té mó à- *sá á- mfó
 REL = NEG know Almighty God **PFV** **show** 3PL.ACC CL6 thing CL6 that
 ‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’
 (Punishment 1.10)

- 572) **waatsyese** **oka** **əmə** **ətəsa**
wà = **á-** **tsyése** **ó-** ***ká** **á-** **mó** **à-** ***təsá**
3SG.NOM = **HAB** **send** **NCL1** **chief** **CL1** **the** **NCL6** **gift**
 ‘He sends the chief gifts’
 (Verbs 454.1)

However, if prominence is placed on the theme and it has to occur before the goal, then it has to be introduced by the verb *fī* ‘take’ or *lókə* ‘remove’ in a serial verb construction, as in:

- 573) **wə** **lidi** **ufiəsate** **eso** **wə**
 wə lè = dí ò- *fĩð *sàté ésò wə
 3SG.PN REL = be:NPRES NCL1 god owner therefore 3SG.PN
beefi **seka** **siəmə**
bá = **à-** **fĩ** **sé-** ***ká** **síó-** **mó**
3PL.NOM.PST = **PFV** **take** **NCL11** **chief** **CL11** **the**
bəətə .
bá = **à-** **tó**
3PL.NOM.PST = **PFV** **give**
 ‘She became the traditional priest therefore she they had given the chieftaincy’
 (History_amankrado 3.31)

- 574) **se kolesa ənsi tə mɔmɔ mimfi**
 sé ko- lèsá à- n- sí tó mòmó m̀ì= n- fí
 since NEG thing PFV NEG still be.at now 1SG.NOM= EMPH take
situ mintə wəə ,...
 sé- *tù m̀ì= n- tó wə =
 NCL11 metal 1SG.NOM= EMPH give 3SG.ACC =TOP
oya diye nə loo .
 ó= yà diyê ná lóó
 3SG.NOM.PST= buy name really UFP
 ‘Since I don't have anything now and I gave him a coin, then he has bought a name really’
 (Buying_name 46.4)

- 575) **lə bəmuə fə ko buusu**
 lə bá= múá fə kò b̀ò= ó- sù
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= catch 2SG.ACC then 3PL.NOM= FUT go
bələkə fə bate , fə ni utsyə
bà= ləkə fə bà= té fə ní ùtsyúə
 3PL.NOM= remove 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= show 2SG.PN be somebody
bənyə .
 bá= à- nyə
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV find
 ‘If they catch you then they will reveal you in public, you are the one they have found’
 (King_making 2.30)

7.2.2 Syntactic valency

Languages have various strategies for adjusting, that is, increasing, decreasing or rearranging the syntactic valence of clauses (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:147; Van Valin 2001:93). The semantic/pragmatic rationale for increasing syntactic valence is to upgrade a peripheral participant to centre-stage, whereas the rationale for decreasing valence is to downplay a normally centre-stage participant to a peripheral status or eliminate it totally.

7.2.2.1 Valency increasing operations

7.2.2.1.1 Causatives

One way to increase the valence is the application of causation. A causative is a linguistic expression that contains a predicate cause and one of its arguments contains a predicate which express an effect (Payne, 1997:176). In this case, a causative construction is represented as CAUSE(x, P) where x is a term that acts on a proposition P which is an effect clause. Causative constructions are formed based on the transitivity of the caused event. Causative predicates always involve one more argument than the caused predicate such that if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive. Likewise if the caused event is transitive, the causative is ditransitive. There are three types of causatives: (i) lexical; (ii) morphological; and (iii) periphrastic/analytic.

7.2.2.1.1.1 Lexical causatives

Lexical causatives are verbs that have the notion of cause embedded in their meaning. They exhibit a caused-resultant alternation. One has a choice between a caused and a resultant construction. A caused construction has one argument more than its resultant counterpart. There are at least three ways of representing lexical causatives: (i) no change in verb; (ii) idiosyncratic change in verb; and (iii) different verb. Verbs in Sekplele that can have both caused and resultant interpretations with no change in the structure of the verb include *bá* ‘break/split’, *fěsě* ‘break’, *wí* ‘pour.away’, *là* ‘tear’, *má* ‘squeeze’, *sěnsě* ‘spread’, *sínì* ‘open’, *tí* ‘close’ and *kó* ‘mix’. This is illustrated in:

- 576) a) **lewākplibi** **nəmə** **aba**
 lé- wà *kplíbí ná- má à- bá
 NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the PFV break
 ‘The cooking pot is broken’ (Verbs 335.1)
- b) **oba** **lewākplibi** **nəmə**
 ó= bá lé- wà *kplíbí ná- má
 3SG.NOM.PST = break NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the
 ‘He broke the cooking pot’ (Verbs 334.1)
- 577) a) **wə** **kokpa** **əfəsə**
 wó kókpa à- fəsó
 3SG.POSS leg PFV break
 ‘His leg is broken’ (Verbs 333.1)
- b) **ufəsə** **wə** **kokpa**
 ó= fəsó wó kókpa
 3SG.NOM.PST = break 3SG.POSS leg
 ‘He broke his leg’ (Verbs 332.1)
- 578) a) **siku** **siəmə** **asɪɪ**
 sè- *kú síó- má à- sínì
 NCL11 door CL11 the PFV open
 ‘The door is opened’
- b) **osani** **əmə** **asɪɪ** **siku** **siəmə**
 ò- *sàní á- má à- sínì sè- *kú síó- má
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV open NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘The man opened the door’ (Verbs 88.1)

The verbs *bá* and *fəsó* are forms of ‘break’. The verb *bá* is used with sphere-like objects while the verb *fəsó* is used with rod-like objects. Examples 576a, 577a and 578a illustrate resultant while examples 576b, 577b, and 578b illustrate caused constructions for the verbs *bá*, *fəsó* and *sínì* respectively.

Idiosyncratic change in a verb involves a situation with weak suppletion. One such case of weak suppletion in Sèkpele is the alteration of stative and action verbs.

Sekpele has a way of forming stative verbs from action verbs which involves a floating low tone on the final syllable of the verb. The effect of the floating low tone is realised on disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, as in (581a) while it has no effect on monosyllabic verbs. This process of forming stative verbs from action verbs is limited to some verbs and not all verbs can undergo this process. I will illustrate idiosyncratic change in verbs with some locative verbs. Other locative verbs use other strategies (such as the morphological) in their caused constructions. Locative verbs which undergo idiosyncratic change include *kpé* ‘put.in/be.in/wear/exist’, *kpó* ‘be.spread/pour’, *tákà/táká* ‘be.on/put.on’, *tí* ‘cover’ and *má* ‘be.fixed’. This is illustrated in:

- 579) a) **kafia** **kǎ** **kpe** **lelaka** **əsua**
 ka- *fiá kǎ **kpé** lè- *lákâ əsúà
 NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF **exist** NCL5 box body
 ‘The cloth is in the box’ (Locative_verbs 1.1)
- b) **ebokpe** **kuyibi** **lə** **lekpenku** **əsua** .
 à= bó- **kpé** kò- *yí -bí lǎ lè- *kpé -n- *kù əsúà
 2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 tree DIM LOC NCL5 bowl LIG half body
 ‘You will put a stick into a scrap bowl’ (Soap_making 18.1)
- 580) a) **ntu** **kpo** **lə** **letigo** **əsua**
 ntù **kpó** lǎ lè- *tígó əsúà
 water **pour** LOC NCL5 barrel body
 ‘Water is in the barrel’ (Locative_verbs 53.1)
- b) **lə akpo** **ntu** **ko** **ntu** **le** **bobo** .
 lǎ á= **kpó** ntù kò ntù lé bò- bó
 if 2SG.NOM.PST **pour** water then water hold NMLZ get out
 ‘If you pour water into them then water is coming out of them’ (Pottery 212.1)
- 581) a) **kafia** **kǎ** **tákà** **lə** **ɔponu** **əsua**
 kà- *fiá kǎ **táká** lǎ ò- *pònú əsúà
 NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF **be on** LOC NCL3 table body
 ‘The cloth is on the table’ (Locative_verbs 51.1)

- b) **utəkə** **bisi** **lə** **ateke**
ó = **təkə** bɛ̀- *sí ló àtèké
3SG.NOM.PST = **put on** NCL12 yam LOC stove
‘He put yams on fire (He is cooking yams)’ (Verbs 518.1)

Examples 579, 580 and 581 illustrate the paired meanings of the verbs *kpé* ‘exist/put’, *kpó* ‘be.in/pour’ with liquids, and *təkə/təkə* ‘be.on/put.in’. Example 581a also shows the effect of the stative floating low tone on the output *təkə*.

Sekpele also has a set of verbs whose caused and resultant forms are two different verbs. They involve strong suppletion and some of the pairs of verbs are *lò/kpé* ‘kill/die’, *wà/bé* ‘cook/be.cooked’ and *bó/lókə* ‘come or go out/remove. This is illustrated in:

- 582) a) **owoe likpə** **oo** **ewu** **likpə** **oo** **ukpə** **tsya**
òwòé lè = **kpé** òó éwú lè = **kpé** òó ó = **kpé** tsyâ
who REL = **die** UFP grandmother REL = **die** UFP 3SG.NOM.PST = **die** too
wənkpə **təo** .
wá = **n-** **kpé** tód
3SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** **die** yet
‘Who died? Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’ (Buying_name 17.1)

- b) **balo** **ubuki** **əmə**
bá = **lò** ò- *bùkí á- mó
3PL.NOM.PST = **kill** NCL1 animal CL1 the
‘They killed the animal’ (Verbs 70.1)

583) a) **nyafěě fuufi** **ubisia** **əmə** **ətəkə** **ateke**
nyáfěě fò = ó- fí ù-bìsîâ á- mǎ à = tákǎ àtèké
then 2SG.NOM = FUT take NCL3-palm oil CL3 the 2SG.NOM put on stove
alǎ **utǎ** **bokpe** **itu** **ebe**
à = lǎ ùtǎ bò- kpé è = tú è = bé
2SG.NOM repair fire NMLZ put 3SG.NOM = be boil 3SG.NOM be cook
bobe
bò = **bé**
CL10.NOM = **be cook**
‘Then you will put the palm oil on the fire and repair the fire to boil and cook’
(Palm oil 16.4)

b)	nya	boolo			ubuki		əmə		bawā	
	nyá	bò=	ó-	lò	ò-	*bùkí	á-	má	bà=	wà
	then	3PL.NOM=	FUT	kill	NCL1	animal	CL1	the	3PL.NOM=	cook
	lesa									
	lè-	*sá								
	NCL5	thing								
	‘Then they will kill the animal and cook food’						(Naming ceremony 2.3)			

Examples 582 and 583 show the alteration of *kpé/lò* and *bé/wà* respectively. Examples 582a and 583a are resultative constructions while examples 582b and 583b are their caused counterpart.

7.2.2.1.1.2 Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb. Sekpele has a causative marker **-sə** attached to most verbs to express causation. This process is used with only intransitive caused events. The analytic strategy is used with transitive caused events (see §7.2.2.1.1.3). The causative morpheme is very productive and can be attached to a variety of verbs which include *tò* ‘burn’, *tú* ‘boil’, *bé* ‘raise/climb’, *lò* ‘finish’, *tákà* ‘rise’, *tsyáká* ‘mix’, *tsyò* ‘be straight’, *yáklà* ‘awake’, *lábé* ‘sleep/lie’, *lé* ‘give birth’, *tsyá* ‘join/tie up’, *flé* ‘wash/bath’, *fló*

used to express the agent making or influencing the outcome of the caused event.

This is illustrated in:

- 586) a) **siku** **siəmə** **ama**
 sè- *kú sí- mó à- má
 NCL11 door CL11 the PFV become narrow
 ‘The door is narrow’ (Adjectives 67.1)
- b) **uyifo** **siku** **siã** **lema**
 ó= yífó sè- *kú siã lè= má
 3SG.NOM.PST= **make** NCL11 door CL11.REL.PRO REL= become narrow
 ‘He made the door which is narrow/ He made a narrow door’ (Adjectives 68.1)
- c) **uyifo** **siku** **siã** **ama**
 ó= yífó sè- *kú siã à- má
 3SG.NOM.PST= **make** NCL11 door CL11.DEF PFV become narrow
 ‘He made the door narrow’

Another verb used for expressing CAUSE is the verb **wǎ** and it is illustrated in:

- 587) **kemi** **itsyə** **akpo** **ntu** **əwǎ** **nya**
 kèmí è= tsyè à= kpó ntù à= wǎ nyá
 then 3SG.NOM= stay 2SG.NOM pour water 2SG.NOM **cause** 3SG.ACC
 aba
 à= bá
 2SG.NOM mash
 ‘Then you pour water and mash’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.5)
- 588) **fěě** **fuuwǎ** **wə** **aso** **kemi**
 fě́ě fò= ó- wǎ wə à= só kèmí
 before 2SG.NOM= FUT **cause** 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM beat then
 əbo **okuaye nə** .
 è= bó òkuàyé ná
 3SG.NOM= get out soap really
 ‘Then you will beat into balls to really come out as soap’ (Soap_making 25.6)

The verb **tə** is used to encode an animate entity causing another animate entity to perform a task or cause an event to come into being. This is illustrated in:

- 589) **wə** **luutə** **betidi** **bote** **bəə** **nyə**
 wê lè= ó- tá bà- *tídi bó- tè báə nyè
 3SG.PN REL= FUT cause NCL2 person NMLZ know 3PL.COMP see
mə **nle** **bə** .
 mǎ ñ= lé bá
 like this REL= hold come
 ‘It is him who will cause the people to know that this is what is coming’ (King_making 14.13)

- 590) **eso** **lefe** **nəmfóó** , **lə** **ate**
 ésò lé- *fè ná- mfó = lá á= tè
 therefore NCL5 time CL5 that =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST know
uutə **ootee** , **enii**
 ó= ò- tá ó= ò- tè = è èníí
 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT cause 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT know =TOP probably
məmə **ote** ... **lə** **ukpə** **tsya** **esi** **wə**
 mǎmǎ ò- *tê lá ó= kpǎ tsyâ à= sí wè
 now NCL1 goat if 3SG.NOM.PST= to die too 2SG.NOM dwell 3SG.ACC
kayo .
 kàyó
 debt
 ‘Therefore that time, if you knew she had caused her to know, probably now a goat ... if she even dies you owe her’
 (Buying_name 56.7)

Two causative clauses can occur in succession such that the second causative clause can be said to be the result of the first causative clause. The first clause is usually an analytic causation while the second clause may be either lexical or morphological causation. The verb **tá** is usually used in such construction, as in:

- 591) a) **siku** **siəmə** **asɪɪ**
 sè- *kú síó- mǎ à- sínì
 NCL11 door CL11 the PFV open
 ‘The door is opened’
- b) **osani** **əmə** **asɪɪ** **siku** **siəmə**
 ò- *sànî á- mǎ à- sínì sè- *kú síó- mǎ
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV open NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘The man opened the door’
 (Verbs 88.1)

- c) **Kofi** **ətə** **osani** **əmə** **asmɪ** **siku** **siəmə**
 Kofi **à-** **tá** **ò-** *sàní **á-** **má** **à-** **síni** **sè-** *kú **síá-** **má**
 Kofi **PFV** **open** **NCL1** **man** **CL1** **the** **PFV** **open** **NCL11** **door** **CL11** **the**
 ‘Kofi caused the man to open the door’

The verb **tá** is also used with situational caused and abstract entities. In this circumstance, a preceding event or an abstract entity is said to be the cause of the event at stake. This is illustrated in:

- 592) **nya** **ni** **iitə** **baataka**
 nyá ní **é=** **à-** **tá** bá= **à-** **tákà**
 3SG.PN be 3SG.NOM.PST= **PFV** **cause** 3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **rise**
beedu **nə** .
 bá= **à-** **dú** **nó**
 3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **leave** **really**
 ‘That is what had caused them to rise and leave’ (History_amankrado 15.15)

- 593) **sikpitete** **ətə** **weetsyetsyi** **kedu**
 sɪkpítété **à-** **á-** **tá** wà= **á-** tsyétsyí **kà-** **dú**
 fear **SCR** **HAB** **cause** 3SG.NOM= **HAB** **run** **INF** **leave**
 ‘Fear causes him to run away’

The verb **tá** can be used as the only verb in a clause and take an abstract noun, as in:

- 594) **nya** **eso** **lə** **awā** **lə** **ni** **ənə** **la** ,
 nyá **ésô** **lá** **á=** wā **lô** **ní** **á=** **nə** **lá**
 therefore **if** 2SG.NOM.PST **cook** **LOC** **CL5.ACC** 2SG.NOM.PST **drink** **TOP**
yəəntə **buɸi** .
yà= **á-** **n-** **tá** **bò-** **ĩ**
 3SG.NOM= **HAB** **NEG** **cause** **NMLZ** **become** **sick**
 ‘Therefore if you cook in it and drink, it doesn't cause sickness’ (Pottery 47.5)

The verb **kpé** is used to express the agent of the matrix clause compelling the agent of the caused event to perform or cause the event to happen. This is illustrated in:

- 595) **be** **laakpe** **nya** **nko** ?
 bé **lè=** **á-** **kpé** nyá **ńkò**
 what **REL=** **HAB** **cause** 3SG.ACC **like** **that**
 ‘What causes that to happen?’ (Pottery 212.1)

7.2.2.1.2 Comitative or Associative

Another valency increasing mechanism in Sèkpele is comitative or associative which denotes accompaniment. It encodes a relationship of accompaniment between two participants in an event: the accompanee and the companion. Prominence is placed on the accompanee. In Sèkpele, the associative marker *-ko* is attached to verbs to introduce an accompanee. The associative marker, like the causative marker, is very productive and can be attached to most verbs especially motion verbs. These verbs include *yé* ‘walk’, *tó* ‘go towards’, *dú* ‘leave’, *tsyì* ‘come from’, *sú* ‘go’, *tákó* ‘follow’, *leke* ‘be good’, *tónò* ‘agree’, *bó* ‘get out’ and *tsyá* ‘meet’. When two animate entities are involved, they may share responsibility of the task. The subject plays the lead role while the object plays the role of an accomplice or collaborator. This is illustrated in:

596)	mə		didì			bəkpə	
	má		lè =	dí		bá-	*kpə
	3PL.PN		REL =	be:NPRES		NCL2	warrior
	baayenko					mə	
	bá =	à-	yé	-n-	-kó		má
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	walk	LIG	ASSOC		3PL.ACC
	beetsyiko					Atebubu	fěě
	bá =	à-	tsyì		-kó	Atebubu	fěě
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	come from	ASSOC		Atebubu	before
	bəəbə		Likpeto				
	bá =	à-	bó	Likpeto			
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	come	Likpeto			
	‘They were warriors who lead the migration from Atebubu to Likpeto’						
	(History_amankrado 1.5)						

597)	eso	se	Bakpele		fefe	dibə	
	ésò	sé	bà-	*kpè	*lè	fěfě	lè =
	therefore	when	NCL2	Likpe person	own	remaining	REL =
	bəətəkənko				mə	beeti	
	bá =	à-	tákə	-n-	-kó	má	bá =
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	follow	LIG	ASSOC	3PL.ACC	3PL.NOM.PST =
							PFV
							track

kama	banle			mə	bəbebe		
kámà	bá =	n-	lé	mó	bò-	bébé	
back	3PL.NOM.PST =	EMPH	hold	3PL.ACC	NMLZ	search	
bəbə		la	,	bəbə	tu	mə	lə
bá =	à-	bó	lá	bá =	bó	tù	mó
3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	come	TOP	3PL.NOM.PST =	come	meet	3PL.ACC
Bakwa kato	lə	kubiə	kalo				
Bakwa kàtô	lô	kò-	*bíə	kálò			
Bakwa North	LOC	NCL7	cave	under			
‘Therefore when the remaining Likpe people who had followed, tracked and were searching for them and had come, they met them at north Bakwa north under a cave’							
(History_amankrado 1.15)							

However, the object can play a dormant role such the sole responsibility of the task or event lies in the hand of the subject. The subject act on the object by carrying out the task and this is illustrated in:

598)	kə	mfó	to	ama	yā	leke		lə
kô	mfô	tò	à-	*má	yá	lè =	kè	lô
previously	there	POSS	NCL6	war	CL6.REL.PRO	REL =	exist	if
betsyi				mi		okankple		
bá =	tsyí			mí		ó-	*kánkplê	
3PL.NOM.PST =	carry			2PL.POSS		NCL1	paramount	chief
bedunko				ko	bətəkə	mi	kato	
bá =	dú	-n-	-kó	kò	bá =	tákó	mí	kàtô
3PL.NOM.PST =	leave	LIG	ASSOC	then	3PL.NOM.PST =	be on	2PL.ACC	top of
‘The wars that existed in the past, if they carry your paramount chief away, then they have conquered you’								
(History_amankrado 3.44)								

599)	nya	mómə	mfo	lə	fenkə	mómə	lə	esu	eyu	
nyá	mòmó	mfô	lô	fěnkə	mòmó	lô	á =	sù	á =	yù
then	now	here	if	assuming	now	if	2SG.NOM.PST	go	2SG.NOM.PST	steal
nya	buutsyi				fə	mómə	hãã			
nyá	bò =	ó-	tsyí	fə	mòmó	hãã				
then	3PL.NOM =	FUT	carry	2SG.ACC	now	through	to			
besuko			Bekpi	?						
bà =	sù	-kó	Bèkpí							
3PL.NOM =	go	ASSOC	Hohoe							
‘Then right now, let assuming now if you steal, then will they carry you all the way to Hohoe?’										
(Punishment 16.1)										

When the object is an inanimate entity, the subject is said to act on or in relation to the object. This is illustrated in:

- 600) **kemi efi esuko gate esu**
 kè mí à = fí à = sù -kó gáté à = sù
 then 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC mill 2SG.NOM go
əkuə .
 à = kùà
 2SG.NOM grind
 ‘Then you take it to the mill to be ground’ (Palm_kernel_oil 4.7)

- 601) **əbɔ̀nko dikplibi nəmə lekple**
 ó = bó -n- -kó lè- *kplíbí n-ó- m-á lèkplê
 3SG.NOM.PST = get out LIG ASSOC NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the outside
 ‘He brought the pot outside’ (Locative_noun 5.1)

A comitative or associative relation can apply to two inanimate entities. This is illustrated in:

- 602) **nya ewu fə lekpakpa , be beefi**
 nyá éwú fə lè- *kpàkpà bé bá = á- fí
 then grandmother 2SG.POSS NCL5 hat what 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB take
kedinko nya ?
kà- dí -n- -kó nyá
 INF eat LIG ASSOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘Then grandma, please, what do they eat with it?’ (Ofo 8.1)

Abstract entities can act on or be in a comitative relation with other entities. This is illustrated in:

- 603) **itsyise bətsyuə afo seka siḥ koŋ**
 itsyisḗ bà- tsyúá à- fò sé- *ká siḥ kón
 because NCL2 some PFV receive NCL11 chief CL11.DEF really
betsyiko **Onantoto**
bá= tsyì -kó ònántó *tò
3PL.NOM.PST= **come from** **ASSOC** Almighty God place
mootɛɪ nə
 mò= ó- téyí ná
 1SG.NOM= FUT say really
 ‘Because some people have received the chieftaincy really from God I will say’
 (King_making 2.6)

- 604) **lə besu bebikə to kama tsya , nko te**
 lə bá= sù bà= bíkə tò kámà tsyā níkò tè
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM= bury POSS back too like that only
biusə əsə hãã biyifo
 bè= ó- sà á- *sə hãã bè= yífó
 2PL.NOM= FUT sing CL8 song through to 2PL.NOM= do
bidunko
bè= dú -n- -kó
2PL.NOM= **leave** **LIG** **ASSOC**
 ‘After burial too, that is how they will sing throughout while the performance continues’
 (Buying_name 31.4)

- 605) **elekenko wə**
 é= lékè -n- -kó wə
3SG.NOM.PST= **be good** **LIG** **ASSOC** 3SG.ACC
 ‘It is well with him/her’ (Miscellaneous 34.1)

A comitative relation can be introduced with the comitative particle **ku** as in:

- 606) **to lə mbə sə ku fə**
 tó lə ñ= bó sà kú fə
 start then 1SG.NOM= come sing **with** 2SG.ACC
 ‘Start then I come and sing with you’ (Good_old_days 23.1)

607)	betidi	təkə	bale		fə	boyele	ku	
	bà-	*tídi	tákə	bà=	lé	fə	bò- yèlê	kú
	NCL2	person	follow	3PL.NOM=	hold	2SG.ACC	NMLZ	hoot
	əkpəfi							with
	à-	*kpəfi						
	NCL6	child						
	‘People follow and they are hooting at you with children’						(Punishment 17.1)	

7.2.2.1.3 Possessor raising or external possession

Another valency increasing operation in Səkpəle is ‘possessor raising’ or external possession. It involves a process where a peripheral entity is promoted to the core. This causes an intransitive clause to be transitive. An area where possessor raising is applicable is the locative construction (see §9.6). Locative constructions are intransitive clauses with obligatory locative adjuncts. If the locative adjunct contains a possessive phrase, the possessor can be promoted to the object function and occurs immediately after the verb (Ameka 2007:1076). This is illustrated in:

608) a)	kalande	kəmə	təkə	lə	ditsyitsya	to	kotosi
	kà-	*lándé	ká-	mó	tóká	lɔ	lè- tsyìtsyà tò kòtòsì
	NCL9	machete	CL9	the	be on	LOC	NCL5 basket POSS check
	‘The machete is on the edges of the basket’						(Locative_verbs 17.1)

b)	kalande	kəmə	təkə	ditsyitsya	lə	kotosi
	kà-	*lándé	ká-	mó	tóká	lè- tsyìtsyà lɔ kòtòsì
	NCL9	machete	CL9	the	be on	NCL5 basket LOC check
	‘The machete is on the basket on the edges’					

609) a)	lekpakpa	tí	lə	wə	disi
	lè-	*kpàkpà	tí	lɔ	wɔ dísi
	NCL5	hat	cover	LOC	3SG.POSS head
	‘A hat is worn on his head’				

- b) **lekpakpa** **ti** **wə** **lə** **disi**
 lè- *kpàkpà tí **wə** ló dísi
 NCL5 hat cover **3SG.ACC** LOC head
 ‘A hat is worn by him on the head’ (Locative_verbs 50.1)

Examples 608a and 609a are prototypical forms of a locative construction. It consists of a Figure, a locative verb, and a Ground which is an adjunct phrase. In these cases, the adjunct phrases contain possessive noun phrases. In Example 608b and 609b, the possessor is promoted to the object function making the clause transitive. Whereas the adjunct phrases in 608a and 609a are obligatory and cannot be omitted from the clause, those of 608b and 609b can be relatively omitted. The adjunct phrase in 608b can be omitted and replaced with the generic locative noun *àsuú* ‘body’ while that of 609b can be omitted completely. One can conclude that the role of the adjunct in this case, is to specify the part of body (Ground) the Figure is located. Possessor raising can also be used in an action where the possessor is the benefactor or patient of the action. This is illustrated in:

- 610) a) **bookpo** **ubuki** **lə** **fə** **akpa**
 b̀̀ = ó- kpó ò- *b̀̀kí ló **fə** á- *kpà
 3PL.NOM = FUT pour NCL1 animal LOC **2SG.POSS** NCL6 leg
 ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet’
- b) **bookpo** **fə** **ubuki** **lə** **akpa** ;
 b̀̀ = ó- kpó **fə** ò- *b̀̀kí ló á- *kpà
 3PL.NOM = FUT pour **2SG.ACC** NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg
ubuki **akpaana** **ini** **legbosu**
 o- *b̀̀kí á- *kpà ánà è = ní lèkpòsú
 NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram

baakpe			fěě	boola			bakpo	
bá=	à-	kpé	fěě	bò=	ó-	là	bà=	kpó
3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	request	before	3PL.NOM=	FUT	cut	3PL.NOM=	pour
fə	lə	akpa						
fə	ló	á-	*kpà					
2SG.ACC	LOC	NCL6	leg					

‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram they had requested, before they will slaughter before your feet’ (King making 2.34)

[illegible]

b) *utəkə* *wə* *bisi* *lə* *əkwe*
 ó = *tóká* *wə* *bè-* **sí* *lá* *ðkwé*
 3SG.NOM.PST = put on **3SG.ACC** NCL12 yam LOC farm
 ‘He planted yams for him on the farm’

c) *utəkə* *mə* *bisi* *lə* *əkwe*
 ó = tóká mǎ bè- *sí ló ðkwé
 3SG.NOM.PST = put on **3SG.ACC** NCL12 yam LOC farm
 ‘He planted yams for me on the farm’

In examples 610a and 610b, the benefactor is located in the adjunct phrase and core respectively. This distinguishes between whether the benefactor benefitted or was affected directly or indirectly by the action of the subject. The process of promotion to the core is similar to the dative-shift however different in the sense that in dative-shift, the entire constituent is moved to the core while in this case, only the possessor is promoted. Example 611a is ambiguous between the possessor being a third party or being co-referential to the subject. Example 611a also forms the underlying structure for example 611b. However, the interpretation of 611b is restricted to the benefactor being a third party otherwise; the reflexive noun *ἑαυτοῦ*

‘body’ will be used. In 611b and 611c, the benefactor is promoted to the object function and they are directly affected by the action of the subject.

7.2.2.2 Valency decreasing operations

Just as languages have valency increasing operations, they also have morphological, lexical, and periphrastic/analytic means of reducing the valency of the verb. Valency decreasing operations downplay, omit or move an argument to the periphery. Valency decreasing operations include reflexives, reciprocals, passive, antipassive, subject omission and object omission (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:7). This section focuses on the valency decreasing mechanisms in Sɛkpele which only applies to object omission.

7.2.2.2.1 Object omission

Object omission is an operation that downplays the centrality of a patient such that it is omitted from the clause. Object omission occurs in situations where the object of the clause can be deduced from context such that its omission will not render the clause vague or ungrammatical. Object omission is mostly used in conversations or can be found in discourse where the context is clear. This is illustrated in:

612) a) **esə** **bebe** **biəmə** .
 à= sà bè- *bé bíá- mó
 2SG.NOM fry NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the
 ‘You fry the palm kernel’ (Palm_kernel_oil 4.2)

- b) **kemi efi esuko gate esu**
 kè mí à = fí à = sù -kó gáté à = sù
 then 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC mill 2SG.NOM go
əkuə .
 à = kùè
 2SG.NOM grind
 ‘Then you take it to the mill to be ground’ (Palm_kernel_oil 4.7)

The context was a narration of how palm kernel oil is made. Example 612a consists of the antecedent clause and it contains the object of focus. In Example 612b, the narrator has omitted the object in the clause based on the background that the object can be deduced from context. Without the antecedent clause in 612a, example 612b will be vague. Another instance of object omission is illustrated in:

- 613) a) **lə utə fə otee , lele nã**
 ló ó = tó fə òtê = lè- *lé nã
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC goat =TOP NCL5 year CL5.DEF
ukpəə , ote əmə foolo
 ò = kpó = ò- *tê á- mǎ fò = ó- lò
 3SG.NOM = to die =TOP NCL1 goat CL1 thNOMe 2SG. = FUT kill
awã lekonklo akpe lə litsyitsya efi
 à = wǎ lèkònklo à = kpé ló lè- tsyìtsyà à = fí
 2SG.NOM cook Lèkònklo 2SG.NOM put LOC NCL5 basket 2SG.NOM take
ətəkə tlai .
 à = tókó tlái
 2SG.NOM put on tray
 ‘If s/he gives you a goat, the year s/he dies, this is the goat you will kill and prepare Lekonklo³⁰,
 put (it) in a basket and place on a tray’ (Buying_name 14.1)

³⁰ Lekonklo is a traditional meal prepared with roasted maize flour and beans in palmnut soup.

- b) **nya buukiti** ... **bəsə** **lə kaso** ... **ko**
 nyá bò= ó- kútí bà= sá ló kàsô kò
 then 3PL.NOM= FUT fetch 3PL.NOM= sprinkle LOC ground then
befi **lefefe** **bedunko**
 bà= fĩ lé- *fěfě bà= dú -n- -kó
 3PL.NOM= take NCL5 remaining 3PL.NOM= leave LIG ASSOC
besu **bətsyə** .
 bà= sù bà= tsyè
 3PL.NOM= go 3PL.NOM= keep
 ‘Then they will fetch ... sprinkle on the ground ... then take the remaining’ (Buying_name 31.3)

- c) **lə eyo** **bələkə** **bətə** **besio**
 ló é= yó bà= lókə bà= tó bà- *sìó
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= reach 3PL.NOM= remove 3PL.NOM= give NCL2 woman
bələkə **bətə** **basani** **nya**
 bà= lókə bà= tó bà- *sànî nyá
 3PL.NOM= remove 3PL.NOM= give NCL2 man then
beoma **bidi** .
 bè= ó- má bè= dí
 2PL.NOM= FUT share 2PL.NOM= eat
 ‘If it is time, they will give to the women, give to the men then you will share and eat’
 (Buying_name 31.3)

The context of the above examples is a narration of a rite of role-model or mentorship. According to the narrative, a person is supposed to prepare a traditional meal for his/her mentor when they die. Example 613a contains the object of focus ‘Lekonklo’. In examples 613b and 613c, the objects of the clauses have been omitted. Although the narrator has made several intermittent statements prior to making the utterances in 613b and 613c, it can be deduced from context that he is still referring to the focus object in 613a. Secondly, 613a has several clauses. The clauses that follow the clause with ‘Lekonklo’ as object (antecedent clause), have their objects omitted. The omitted objects can be inferred from the antecedent clause.

7.2.2.3 Argument adjustment operation

7.2.2.3.1 Inversion

Inverse constructions are technically valence ‘rearranging’ devices since they do not add or remove arguments from the clause (Payne, 1997:209). They rather invert the normal alignment between semantic roles and grammatical expression of these roles, leaving the clause with the same number of arguments as the corresponding direct construction. The semantic effect of a prototypical inverse construction is to downplay the centrality of the agentive participant with respect to the more patient-like participant. Inversion is based on the notion of precedence. If a speaker wants to place emphasis on the AGENT, s/he places the AGENT in the subject function thereby expressing a direct construction. On the other hand, if they wish to place emphasis on the PATIENT, precedence is placed on it and it appears in the subject function while the AGENT functions as the object.

In some languages, inversion is marked on the verb. However, in Sekpele, there is no marking on the verb. The arguments are swapped around depending on the mode of precedence. Inversion in Sekpele does not apply to all verbs. It is employed and limited to a relatively small number of stative and locative verbs. The locative verb *kpé* can be used to express possession. The syntactic function of the possessor and the possessed can be swapped. If the possessor occurs as the subject, the construction is referred to as a HAVE construction where the possessor has the possessed item. On the other hand, if the possessed item occurs as the subject, the construction is said to be a BELONG construction (see also §9.7). This is illustrated in:

614) a) **okpe** **bate** **kpə**
 ò= **kpé** **bà-** ***tê** **kpə**
 3SG.NOM= **have** **NCL2** goat many
 ‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 36.1)

b) **bate** **kpə** **kpe** **wə**
 bà- ***tê** **kpə** **kpé** **wə**
 NCL2 goat many **exist** **3SG.ACC**
 ‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 38.1)

615) a) **okpe** **atabi**
 ò= **kpé** **àtábí**
 3SG.NOM= **have** money
 ‘S/he has money’ (Miscellaneous 33.1)

b) **atabi** **kpe** **wə**
 àtábí **kpé** **wə**
 money **exist** **3SG.ACC**
 ‘S/he has money’

Examples 614a and 615a are the direct construction of the corresponding inverse construction in 614b and 615b. Notwithstanding, not all verbs of possession can undergo the process of inversion. Some verbs require the possessed item or possessor to obligatorily occur as the subject. This is illustrated in:

616) **atabi** **tə** **wə**
 àtábí **tá** **wə**
 money **be.at** **3SG.ACC**
 ‘He has money’ (Verbs 501)

617) **osani** **ẽ** **ənyə** **atabi**
 ò- ***sànî** **ẽ** **à-** **nyə** **àtábí**
 NCL1 man **CL1.DEF** **PFV** **find** money
 ‘The man has money’ (Verbs 503.1)

618) **osani** **ẽ** **ənyə** **disuəyua**
 ò- ***sànî** **ẽ** **à-** **nyə** **disùóyúə**
 NCL1 man **CL1.DEF** **PFV** **find** happiness
 ‘The man is happy’ (Verbs 504.1)

Example 616 has the possessed item occurring as the subject of the clause. It is the preferred means of expressing possession with the verb **tə** ‘be.at’. The rationale is that it is only possessed entities that can be with a possessor and not the other way round. In 617 and 618, the possessor is the subject of the clause. The clause cannot be inverted due to the fact that it is only animates that have the potential to find or discover other entities.

Another verb whose arguments can be inverted is the verb **lé** ‘hold’. The process of inversion can only occur when the arguments involved are animates and abstract entities. One scenario is when abstract entities affect animates. When the animate occurs as the subject, s/he is said to catch it. On the other hand, when the abstract entity occurs as the subject, it is said to affect the animate. This is illustrated in:

- 619) a) **əle** **kofani**
ò= **lé** **kòfànì**
 3SG.NOM= **hold** shame
 ‘He is ashamed’
- b) **kofani le wə**
kòfànì lé wə
 shame **hold** 3SG.ACC
 ‘He is ashamed’ (Verbs 474.1)
- 620) a) **ubuki əmə le bufi**
ò- *bùkí á- mɔ́ lé bò- fí
 NCL1 animal CL1 the **hold** NMLZ become sick
 ‘The animal is sick’ (Verbs 355.1)
- b) **bufi le ubuki əmə**
bùfí lé ò- *bùkí á- mɔ́
 disease **hold** NCL1 animal CL1 the
 ‘The animal is sick’

In examples 619a and 620a, the animate occurs as the subject and the meaning is that the animate entities got ashamed and sick respectively. Contrarily, in 619b and

620b, the abstract entities occur as the subject. The abstract entity is said to affect the animate entity. In all cases, the animate has no control over the situation.

Inanimates cannot undergo the process of inversion. This is because they cannot act upon or affect other entities on their own accord: it is the other way round. In this regards, inanimates are restricted to the object function. This is illustrated in:

- 621) **Kofi lɛ kukuə lə anɪ**
 Kofi **lé** kò- *kùá ló à- *nî
 Kofi **hold** NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘Kofi has a book in his hand’ (Verbs 500.1)

- 622) **Kofi tsi kukuə kuã**
 Kofi **tsyí** kò- *kùá kuã
 Kofi **carry** NCL7 book CL7.DEF
 ‘Kofi is carrying the book’ (Verbs 505.1)

In Examples 621 and 622, the possessor occurs as the subject and the inanimate entity is restricted to the object function. This is because the semantics of the verbs ‘hold’ and ‘carry’ in Sɛkpɛlɛ would not allow the process of inversion. In Sɛkpɛlɛ, inanimates cannot hold or carry animates and abstract entities. However, inversion with these verbs does occur in some languages such as Akan.

7.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the verb structure and valency. Section 7.1 discussed the structure of the Sɛkpɛlɛ verb. Sɛkpɛlɛ is an agglutinating language with some fusion, thus, the language incorporates syntactic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, and causation. A verbal word consists of a verb root plus as many as three or four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. The verbal root is the only stable core of the verb word and is

obligatory. The pre-verbal domain includes the pre-initial, the initial, post-initial, aspect and polarity, and the infinitive while the post-verbal domain includes verb extensions such as the causative, the associative and the stative.

Section 7.2 discussed verbs and valency. This section was divided into two broad sections. Section 7.2.1 discussed the semantic classes of verbs and their valency. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). Univalent verbs include voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs. Divalent verbs include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs. The number of trivalent verbs in Sɛkpele are relatively few and they include *tɔ* ‘give’, *tɔ* ‘ask’, *tɛ́* ‘tell’, *tɛ* ‘show/teach’, and *tsyésé* ‘send’. The agent takes the subject role while the goal and the theme are the direct and indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is irreversible.

Section 7.2.2 discussed syntactic valency in Sɛkpele which includes increasing, decreasing and argument adjusting operations. Valency increasing operations include causatives, comitative or associative, and possessor raising or external possession. The only valency decreasing operation in Sɛkpele is object omission. The only argument adjustment operation in Sɛkpele is inversion.

8 TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY AND NEGATION

This chapter discusses tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverbs. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs.

Section 8.1 outlines and describes the tense and aspectual system of Sekpele according to three main groupings: (i) past, perfective and anterior; (ii) imperfective (progressive and habitual); and (iii) future (primary future and prospective). Section 8.2 discusses phasal aspects, section 8.3 discusses how mood and modality are expressed in Sekpele, while section 8.4 looks at negation of the various tenses and aspects.

8.1 Tense and aspect

Tense is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event or situation with respect to another reference point (Bhat, 1999:13). The terms ‘deictic’ and ‘non-deictic’ are used to differentiate between tenses which have the utterance time as the reference point and those which have some other event as the reference point, respectively. Some languages such as Kuruhk (Dravidian) have a three-fold deictic tense distinction between past, present, and future, depending upon whether the events occur before, simultaneously or after the time of utterance. English, Kannada, and several related languages have a two-fold tense distinction between past and non-past. Some other languages such as Manipuri and Tuwuli have a two-fold distinction between future and non-future (Bhat, 1999; Harley, 2008).

Aspect, on the other hand, indicates the temporal structure in which the event occurs. Aspectual distinctions can be categorised into three distinct groups: (1) perfectives and imperfectives; (2) ingressives, progressives, egressives and resultatives; and (3) semelfactives, iteratives, habituais and frequentatives (Bhat, 1999:44). The first group is concerned with the distinction between the view of an event as a whole from outside as opposed to the view of an event from inside (Comrie, 1976:3). The second group, on the other hand, is concerned with the distinction between different phases of an event such that an event may be beginning, ending, continuing or changing. The third group is concerned with the various quantificational components of an event. In this case, an event may be viewed as occurring just once or several times, as a specific event or part of a general habit of carrying out similar events, or the different degrees of frequency with which the event occurs (Bhat, 1999:53). The most important aspectual distinction that occurs in the grammar of natural languages is the one between perfectives and imperfectives such that it forms the basic division of the verbal forms, with other aspectual, temporal and modal distinctions being regarded as forming different subdivisions of either the perfective or the imperfective category, or both (Bhat, 1999:46).

The debate about whether Aspect and Modality are more central to the grammar of the verb and the clause than tense in West African language groups such as Kwa has been well documented in Ameka & Kropp Dakubu (2008). This stems from the idea that aspect is more prominent in some languages than in others (Bhat, 1999; Comrie, 1976). This is true of languages such as Akan, Ewe, Ga, and Dangme. However languages belonging to the Ghana-Togo Mountain branch of Kwa have shown characteristics of tense in the morphology of verbs, in addition to aspect

(Dorvlo, 2008; Harley, 2005, 2008), depending on the ‘Aktionsart’ or lexical aspect of the verb. In these languages, the notion of modality is expressed by verbs, sentence particles and adverbials. The following sections seek to show the various tenses and aspects in Sekpele and their temporal functionality.

Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are *ǎ-* and *ǎ-* respectively. The imperfective morpheme *ǎ-* is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs *bǎ* ‘come’ and *sù* ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are *(b)ǎ-* and *(b)ǎ-* respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Posterior has been glossed as future in this work.

Since subject pronouns and aspects are attached to verbs, it is possible to have a combination of tense and aspect. A past tense subject pronoun can combine with the perfective and the anterior morphemes. These combinations produce the effect of a past perfect construction. Likewise, a non-past subject pronoun combines with imperfective and posterior morphemes. The habitual can combine with both past and non-past subject pronouns to form past habituals and non-past habituals respectively.

8.1.1 Past, perfective and anterior

According to Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994:51) past and perfective typically develop from the same source and have very similar semantic content. They however differ from one another in the way they interact with imperfective and with semantic classes of verbs. A given morpheme will be interpreted as past or perfective depending on whether the language in which it occurs has an imperfective and whether it contrasts with the imperfective. If there is a contrast, then it is the perfective. However, if it co-occurs with the perfective then it is the past. In addition, interactions with stative predicates distinguish pasts from perfectives. Past indicates a situation which occurred before the moment of speech. The perfective on the other hand signals that the situation is viewed as bounded temporally and as forming a unified entity (Comrie, 1976; Dahl, 1985). In most languages, the perfective is used to denote a situation that occurred in the past. When the perfective co-occurs with the past, it signals remoteness distinctions in the past. In a given situation, the past may co-occur with imperfective forms such as the habitual and the progressive.

8.1.1.1 Past and perfective

In S  kpele, both past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. Past tense is indicated by a high tone on the subject pronominal. A past subject pronoun is attached to the verb stem alone or combines with the perfective morpheme to form a past perfect construction, as (623) and (624). Since NP subjects do not require subject pronominals to be attached to the verb, only the perfective morpheme is attached to the verb, as in (625) and (626).

Example 627 shows a situation where both the perfective and the past morphemes are represented. Constructions with NP subjects do not result in perfect constructions.

- 623) **ufəsə** **wə** **kokpa**
ó= fósó wó kókpà
3SG.NOM.PST= break 3SG.POSS leg
 ‘He broke his leg’ (Verb 332.1)

- 624) **nya besu** **beku** **kasə** **kã**
 nyá bá= sù bá= kù kà- *sô kǎ
 then **3PL.NOM.PST=** go **3PL.NOM.PST=** dig NCL9 ground CL9.DEF
beefi **baakpe**
bá= à- fí bá= à- kpé
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take **3PL.NOM.PST=** PFV put
 ‘Then they dug the ground and put (them) there’ (History_amankrado 3.54)

- 625) **osaibi** **əmə** **əfəsə** **wə** **kokpa**
 ò- *sǎfí á- mó à- fósó wó kókpà
 NCL1 boy CL1 the **PFV** break 3SG.POSS leg
 ‘The boy broke his leg’

- 626) **wə** **kokpa əfəsə**
 wó kókpà à- fósó
 3SG.POSS leg **PFV** break
 ‘His leg is broken’ (Verb 333.1)

- 627) **itsyise** **bətsyuə** **afo** **seka** **siǎ** **koŋ**
 ítsyisé ba- tsyuə à- fô se- *ká siǎ kón
 because CL2 some **PFV** receive NCL11 chief CL11.DEF really
bətsyiko **Onantoto** **mootɛɪ**
bá= tsyì -kó ònántó *tò mò= ó- téyí
3PL.NOM.PST= come from ASSOC Almighty God place **1SG.NOM=** FUT say
nə
 nó
 really
 ‘Because some people have received the chieftaincy really from God I will say’
 (King_making 2.6)

Examples 628 and 629 provide the the tonal contrast that exist between past and non-past. Past is marked in the gloss while non-past is unmarked. Example 628 shows a past/non-past contrast between the 3PL.NOM. Examples 628 and 629 show the same contrast in the 3SG.NOM.

- 628) **lə bakpo ntu lə ɔkɛkɛ ǽ la ,**
lǎ bá= kpó ntù lǎ ó- *kéké ǽ lá
 if 3PL.NOM.PST= pour water LOC NCL3 pan CL3.DEF TOP
bəflə kɔni utsyuə saa flə kɔni
bà= flǎ kò- *nî ò- tsyúá sàà flǎ kò- *nî
 3PL.NOM= wash NCL7 arm CL1 some each wash NCL7 arm
okpe
ò= kpé
 3SG.NOM= put
 ‘If they finish eating, if they pour water in the pan, then they wash hands; everyone washes hands in it’.
 (Naming_ceremony 4.5)

- 629) **okpe wə kokpa lə ntu bomə əsuə**
ó= kpé wǎ kókpa lǎ n- *tù bó- mǎ əsúà
 3SG.NOM.PST= put 3SG.POSS leg LOC NCL10 water CL10 the body
 ‘He put his foot into the water’
 (Verbs 401.1)

I have analysed these morphemes as past/non-past instead of perfective/imperfective based on Bybee et al. 1994’s hypothesis that if a morpheme contrast with the imperfective in a language, then it is perfective but if it co-occurs with the perfective, then it is the past. I have shown the tonal constast between past and non-past, and between perfective and imperfective. The past can co-occur with the perfective to signal a remote past or better still a past perfect which is especially used in narratives of historic events, as in:

- 630) **nya eso baafo diye nəmə nkə Mate .**
nyá ésô bá= à- fò lè- *yê ná- mǎ níkə Mate
 therefore 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV receive NCL5 name CL5 the that Mate
 ‘Therefore they had received the name Mate’ .
 (History_amankrado 3.72)

- 631) **nya** **baale** **seka** **siḥ**
 nyá **bá=** **à-** **lé** **sé-** ***ká** **siḥ**
 then **3PL.NOM.PST=** **PFV** possess **NCL11** chief **CL11.DEF**
baafo **lə** **Akonto** **eto** **anɪ**
bá= **à-** **fò** **ló** **Akonto** **eto** **à-** ***ní**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** collect **LOC** **Akonto** **POSS** **NCL8** arm
beefi **semankrado** **beefi**
bá= **à-** **fí** **sè-** ***mánkràdò** **bá=** **à-** **fí**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** take **NCL11** king making **3PL.NOM.PST=** **PFV** take
bəətə **wə** .
bá= **à-** **tá** **wə**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** give 3SG.ACC
 ‘Then they had possessed the chieftaincy from the hands of Akonto and they had given him the king making’.
 (History_amankrado 3.112)

The past can also co-occur with the habitual and the progressive, as in (632) and (633) respectively, to indicate a continuous occurrence of an event in the past:

- 632) **baata** **kota** **iise** **nko**
bá= **à-** **tá** **kò-** ***tá** **iise** **ńkò**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** shoot **NCL7** gun **because** **like that**
baata **ata** **lə** **dibutu** **nḥ**
bá= **á-** **tá** **à-** ***tá** **ló** **le-** ***bùtù** **nḥ**
3PL.NOM.PST= **HAB** shoot **NCL8** gun **LOC** **NCL5** bush **cl5.DEF**
 ‘They had shot a gun because that is how they used to shoot guns in the bush’
 (History_amankrado 3.102)
- 633) **bekedu** **mə** **bəkəṭə** ...
bá= **kà-** **dù** **mə** **bá=** **kà-** **té**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PROG** betray **3PL.ACC** **3PL.NOM.PST=** **PROG** give
abaa
àbáá
 government
 ‘They were betraying them to the government’ (History_amankrado 13.3)

8.1.1.2 Anterior

Another morpheme of interest that indicates a situation in the ‘past’ is the anterior.

Anterior is defined as ‘a past action with current relevance’ (Bybee et al., 1994;

Dahl, 1985). It signals that the situation occurs prior to a reference time and is relevant to the situation at the reference time. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘perfect’ in most linguistic literature. I have chosen to use ‘anterior’ in this work to minimise the confusion between the use of ‘perfect’ and ‘perfective’. The anterior in Sekpele is represented by the morpheme **(b)ð-**, as in:

- 634) se bælələkə ko fintsya bofiani
sé bá= à- lókà kò fã -n- tsyâ bò- fíani
when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV remove then 2SG.PN LIG too **ANT** become
[ordinary person] kase utidi bamba nte .
 kàsé ò- *tídi bàmbà ò= té
 as NCL1 person another REL= be
‘When they had removed it then you too have become an ordinary person as another person
is’.
(King making 12.9)

The anterior may occur simultaneously with the current situation such that its occurrence necessitates the occurrence of the event after it, as in:

- (635) lefe boyo itə budu
léfè bð- yó é= tá bð- dú
time ANT reach 3SG.NOM= give NMLZ leave
'It is time to leave' (Miscellaneous 51.1)

The anterior can also co-occur with the future in a subordinate clause to indicate that the event occurs immediately before or prior to the event in the main clause:

- (636) **nya se yəbutəkə** **ko** , **wə** **buɸi** **anɪ**
 nyá sé yà= bó- táká kò wə **bò-** ɸĩ à- *nĩ
 then when 3SG.NOM= FUT be on then 3SG.ACC **ANT** take NCL8 arm
ukə **itə** **bā** **nle** **fə** .
 ó= kà é= tá bǎ ñ= lé fə
 3SG.NOM.PST= push 3SG.NOM= give 3PL.REL.PRO REL= hold 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then when it will be on, then he will have taken his hands to push for those holding you’
 (King making 2.41)

When the past occurs with the anterior, it indicates a past event as being relevant to the current moment or reference time (Bybee et al., 1994:61). It is sometimes

- ### 8.1.2 Imperfective (progressive and habitual)

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8.1.2.1 Progressive

Progressive views an action as on-going at reference time. It applies typically to dynamic predicates that require constant input of energy to be sustained. When the notion of progressive is extended to stative predicates, then it is known as ‘continuative’. According to Bybee et al. (1994:133), the original function of the progressive is often to give the location of an agent as in the midst of an activity. As expressions of location, progressive constructions would most appropriately be used with main verbs that describe activities that have some characteristic and overt location, rather than with predicates describing internal and non-observable states, thus restricting the use of progressives to dynamic verbs. The progressive aspect can be used with the past, the current and future reference time.

8.1.2.1.1 Present progressive

The present situation is expressed by a present progressive construction. This is encoded by a periphrastic construction in which the verb *le* ‘hold’ takes a phrasal complement that expresses the progressive aspect. This construction is also found in other Kwa languages such as Ewe, Dangme, and Tuvuli. The phrasal complement is a non-finite phrase consisting of a nominalized verb and its complement occurring before it. The prototypical function of the progressive construction is to signal that the state of affairs represented in the clause is ongoing at the relevant reference time indicated by the verb.

639)	ɔle		kukuə		bokla	
	ò =	lé	kò-	*kùá	bó-	klà
	3SG.NOM =	hold	NCL7	book	NMLZ	read
	‘He is reading a book’			(Verbs 104.1)		

- 640) **ɔle** **afantosi** **nyamə** **bufəsə**
 ò = **lé** à- *fántó *sì nyá- má **bó-** fəsó
 3SG.NOM = **hold** NCL6 leaf head CL6 the **NMLZ** harvest
 ‘He is harvesting the herbs’ (Verbs 100.1)

- 641) **ɔle** **kamə** **kəmə** **bofodi**
 ò = **lé** kà- *mó ká- má **bó-** fòdì
 3SG.NOM = **hold** NCL4 rice CL4 the **NMLZ** harvest
 ‘He is harvesting rice’ (Verbs 101.1)

When the clause has an NP subject, the verb *le* occurs without any inflectional element, as in:

- 642) **kutu** **komə** **le** **butu**
 kò- *tù kó- má **lé** **bò-** tú
 NCL7 soup CL7 the **hold** **NMLZ** boil
 ‘The soup is boiling’ (Verb 124.1)

- 643) **Kofi le kosa bəto**
 Kofi **lé** kósà **bó-** tò
 Kofi **hold** question **NMLZ** ask
 ‘Kofi is asking a question’ (Verb_morphology 35.1)

The verb *le* can also take more than one nominalized verb in the progressive construction. This is illustrated in:

- 644) **anle** **bo** **bote** **bəyenko**
 à = n- **lé** bò **bó-** tè **bò-** yé -n- -kó
 2SG.NOM NEG **hold** 1PL.ACC **NMLZ** know **NMLZ** walk LIG ASSOC
 ‘You are unable to lead us’ (History_amankrado 3.110)

- 645) **ɔle** **asa** **bəwɔni** **bokase**
 ò = **lé** à- *sá **bó-** wónì **bò-** kásé
 3SG.NOM = **hold** CL6 thing **NMLZ** write **NMLZ** study
 ‘He is learning to write’ (Verb 107.1)

Present progressive can also be expressed with the verb *to* ‘go toward’ which has an inherent progressive property. This is because it indicates a movement toward a

goal. In context, the utterance of the progressive construction can be used to express the imminence, immediate or intended future occurrence of a state of affairs.

- 646) **sieti osani əmə ntə ?**
 sìétí ò- *sànî á- mó ò = **tš**
 where NCL1 man CL1 the REL = go towards
 ‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverb 12.1)
- 647) **əto lə kebuto**
 ò = **tš** là kébùtó
 3SG.NOM = go towards LOC village
 ‘He is going to the village’ (Verb 30.1)
- 648) **kokoko utidi looke**
 kòkòkò ò- *tídi lò = ó- kè
 certainly NCL1 person REL = FUT exist
ətonko mi fenka kale to
 ò = **tš** -n- -kó mí fê níkà kálè tò
 3SG.NOM = go towards LIG ASSOC 2PL.ACC like that clan POSS
uninə .
 ò- *níná
 NCL1 elder
 ‘Certainly someone will exist and be leading you as the elder of the clan’.
 (History_amankrado 11.4)

The attribution of an auxiliary status to the verb *le* is based on the idea that the central message of such clauses is expressed by the nominalized VP. Hence the verbal element in the nominalized structure is referred to as the main verb and the element that carries other information is the auxiliary. This proposal is dependent on the idea that when a verb takes a complement that is non-finite in form, such as the participle, gerund, and infinitive, then the verb tends to assume a grammatical function and to start on the road to auxiliary status (Heine, 1993). However, there are numerous counter-arguments for the supposed ‘auxiliary’ verb being the main verb in most West African languages. These arguments and the evidence for the

verb being the main verb in these constructions in Ewe and Tuwuli have been provided by (Ameka & Kropp Dakubu, 2008b; Harley, 2008) respectively. In Sekpele, there is evidence that the verb *le* can occur on its own as the main verb of a clause:

- 649) **Kofi ale kukua le anɔ**
 Kofi à- lé kò- *kùá ló à- *nî
 Kofi PFV **hold** NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘Kofi held a book in his hand’ (Verb_morphology 38.1)

- 650) **kofani le wə le wə ubisaibi əsuə**
 kòfànì lé wə ló wə ùbìsàíbí əsúə
 shame **hold** 3SG.ACC LOC 3SG.POSS son body
 ‘He is ashamed because of his son’ (Verb 475.1)

The verb can also be modified by a preverbal auxiliary, as in (641), and more importantly, can be habitualized, as in (652):

- 651) **iise bensi le wə bəbebe**
 iise bà= n- sí lé wə bə- bəbé
 because 3PL.NOM= NEG **still hold** 3SG.ACC **NMLZ** search
 ‘Because they don't want him anymore’ (king_making 12.4)

- 652) **bookpadi wə batsyə wə etiki**
 bə= ó- kpádí wə bà= tsyə wə à- *tíkí
 3PL.NOM= FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
le ənəmi fenkə kase baale kəle
 ló á- *nəmí fè nkə kàsé bá= á- lé kòlé
 LOC NCL6 eye like that how 3PL.NOM.PST= **HAB hold** advice
 ‘They will call him and put words before him just like how they give advice’
 (King_making 12.2)

Another argument that can be raised in support of the verb *le* being the main verb is the issue of obligatoriness. In cases where the meaning of the clause can be inferred from the object of the nominalized verb, the nominalized verb is considered as an optional element whose omission still leaves the clause grammatical. We can

distinguish between the inflectional head of the clause and the semantic head – it looks like *lé* is the inflectional head but the nominalized verb is the semantic head.

653) **ɔlé** **keyifo** (**buyifo**)
 ò = **lé** ka- *yífó bo- yífó
 3SG.NOM = **hold** NCL9 work NMLZ do
 ‘He is working’ (Verb_morphology 39.1)

654) **ɔlé** **etsyi** (**butsyi**)
 ò = **lé** ètsyí bo- tsyí
 3SG.NOM = **hold** race NMLZ carry
 ‘He is running’ (Verb_morphology 40.1)

655) **beso ɔlé** **keku** ?
 bésò ò = **lé** kèkú
 why 3SG.NOM = **hold** cry
 ‘Why is he crying?’ (Adverb 34.1)

At this juncture, I would argue for the fact that the nominalized VP is a verbal noun in Sèkpele. It can assume most of the characteristics associated with nouns. According to Ameka & Kropp Dakubu (2008b:236), the nominalized VP in Ewe is not an NP but a complement to an Aspect Phrase headed by aspectual markers. The difference between the nominalized VP in Sèkpele and that of Ewe is that in Ewe it is not a free constituent. Arguments raised for this include the fact that they cannot be modified by adjectives or be pronominalized. However, in Sèkpele, nominalized VPs can be modified or possessed due to the fact that they function as verbal nouns and assume all the characteristics of elements in noun class 10.

656) **Kofi to budi kple bomə kpe sikpi**
 Kofi tò **bò-** **dí** **kplê** **bó-** **má** **kpé** **sìkpí**
 Kofi POSS NMLZ eat big CL10 DEF have frighten
 ‘Kofi's massive eating is frightening’ (Verb_morphology 41.1)

Whereas in Ewe only the NP part of the nominalized VP can be fronted for focus, in Sèkpele, both can be fronted, wholly or separately.

- 657) **ɔle** **ntu** **bunə**
 ò = lé ntù bó- nè
 3SG.NOM = hold water NMLZ drink
 ‘He is drinking water’ (Verb 13.1)
- 658) **ntu** **bunə** **ɔle**
 ntù bó- nè ò = **n –** lé
 water NMLZ drink 3SG.NOM = **EMPH** hold
 ‘DRINKING WATER he is’
- 659) **ntu** **ɔle** **bunə**
 ntù ò = **n –** lé bó- nè
 water 3SG.NOM = **EMPH** hold NMLZ drink
 ‘It is WATER he is drinking’
- 660) **bunə** **ɔle** **ntu**
 bó- nè ò = **n –** lé ntù
 NMLZ drink 3SG.NOM = **EMPH** hold water
 ‘DRINKING, he is doing to water’

The above examples show that it is possible to move any element into focus position. However the verb takes an emphatic marker *n-* to emphasize the occurrence of focus (see also §7.1.1.5).

8.1.2.1.2 Past progressive

In Sekpele, the progressive is expressed by the morpheme /**ka-**/ and its variants. When the progressive co-occurs with the perfective, since the perfective functions to indicate a past event, the clause will be interpreted as indicating an event that was on-going in the past, as in (661) and (662):

- 661) ɔsəmɪ akani lɛfənə ubə
 ɔsəmí à- kà- ní lèfənə́ ó = bó
 rain PFV PROG fall when 3SG.NOM.PST = come
 ‘It was raining when he came’ (Adverb 23.1)

- 662) **Kofi àkaye kesu asi əmə**
 Kofi à- **kà-** yé kà- sù àsì á- mó
 Kofi PFV **PROG** walk INF go market CL the
 ‘Kofi was walking to the market’ (Verb_morphology 29.1)

The interpretation of an event as being on-going in the past is best established in sentences which have subordinate clauses or temporal adverbs specifying a reference time. In the absence of this, a clause such as (662) may be ambiguous. It may have a habitual meaning such that the state of affairs indicates a habitual, customary action or state. In this case, (661) is more specific compared to (662) in terms of ambiguity. Examples (663) and (664) below also show the habitual interpretation of the past progressive:

- 663) **bekedu mə bəkəṭə ...**
bá= kà- dù mó bá= kà- tó
 3PL.NOM.PST= **PROG** betray 3PL.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST= **PROG** give
abaa
àbáá
 government
 ‘They used to betray them to the government’ (History_amankrado 13.3)

- 664) **okala kamo bəyımı**
ó= kà- lá kámó bó- yímì
 3SG.NOM.PST= **PROG** love rice NMLZ chew
 ‘He used to love eating rice’ (Verbs 7.1)

The past progressive can be expressed with the emphatic morpheme /**n-**/and its variants, as in:

- 665) **ke se bəye banye** lə **utiditu ku**
 gàké sé bò- yé bá= **n-** yé lá ò- *tídítú kú
 but since NMLZ walk 3PL.NOM.PST= **EMPH** walk LOC NCL1 crowd and
esibu **ẽ** **eso la** , **bəbə** **dufə**
 à- *sibú ẽ éso lá bá= bá dúfə
 NCL6 sub-group CL6.DEF therefore TOP 3PL.NOM.PST= come arrive
bəsiə
 bá= sí -ó
 3PL.NOM.PST= dwell NON-STV
 ‘But since they were migrating in a large group and sub-groups therefore, they came and settled’
 (History_amankrado 3.4)

8.1.2.1.3 Future progressive

When the progressive co-occurs with the future tense, it indicates that an on-going state of affairs will be taking place in the future. The future progressive meaning expressed by the state of affairs is straightforward and has no ambiguity, as in:

- 666) **fə lookate ekeyifo lesa**
 fə lò= ó- **kà-** té à= **kà-** yífó lè- *sá
 2SG.PN REL= **FUT PROG** sell 2SG.NOM **PROG** do NCL5 thing
nã faala
 nã fà= á- lá
 cl5.DEF 2SG.NOM= HAB wish
 ‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’ (buying_name 58.2)
- 667) **ni tsya te bookakpo wə tsya kenke nə**
 ní tsyâ tè bò= ó- **kà-** kpó wə tsyâ kénké ná
 CL5.PN too only 3PL.NOM= **FUT PROG** call 3SG.ACC too all really
 ‘It is it only they will be calling him/her really’ (Naming_ceremony 33.1)

The progressive can also be used in a clause with a speaker-oriented modality of hortative, encouraging and inciting the state of affairs to occur in the future, as in:

- 668) **nya eso** **mimbə** **oto** **eso**
 nyá ésô mî = n- bá ó- *tò ésò
 therefore 1SG.NOM = EMPH come NCL3 hometown therefore
muubə **lə** **bekate** **mə** .
 mò = ó- bá lá bè = **kà-** té mà
 1SG.NOM = FUT come HORT 2PL.NOM = **PROG** teach 1SG.ACC
 ‘That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me’
 (Punishment 20.1)

8.1.2.2 Habituals

Habituals describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, such that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 1976:26). Habituals in general are said to describe events that hold over a span of time that stretches from the past to the present, and to a large extent could continue into the future.

The habitual in Sekpele is expressed by the morpheme /á-/. The habitual is a subcategory of the imperfective aspect. When the habitual co-occurs with a subject NP, it carries an unbounded meaning such that the state of affairs being expressed is said to be on-going and its range covers prior or current situations to reference time.

- 669) **osani** **əmə** **ake** **ntu** **məmlə**
 ò- *sàní á- mǎ á- kè ntù məmlǎ
 NCL1 man CL1 the **HAB** swim water quickly
 ‘The man swims quickly’ (Verbs 167.1)

- 670) **ubuki** **əmə** **ayĩ** **buabua**
 ò- *bùkí á- mǎ á- yĩ búàbúa
 NCL1 animal CL1 the **HAB** smell badly
 ‘The animal smells bad’ (Verbs 58.1)

On the other hand, the habitual may co-occur with both past and non-past subject pronominals. If the habitual co-occurs with the past subject pronominal, then it may

have a past habitual meaning and is used to account for past habitual occurrence of a state of affairs or event. These forms are prominent in historic narratives, as in:

- 671) **baata** **kota** **iise** **nko**
 bá= à- tá kò- *tá iise nkò
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV shoot NCL7 gun because like that
baata **ata** **lò** **dibutu** **nǎ**
 bá= á- tá à- *tá ló lè- *bùtù nǎ
 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB shoot NCL8 gun LOC NCL5 bush cl5.DEF
 ‘They had shot a gun because that is how they used to shoot guns in the bush’
 (History_amankrado 3.102)

- 672) **ewu** ! **nko** **te** **bəəta** **nə** .
 éwú nkò tè bá= á- tá ná
 grandmother like that only 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB give really
 ‘Grandma! That is how they often used to give really’ (Buying_name 56.2)

If the habitual co-occurs with a non-past subject pronominal then it takes a general habitual meaning, as in:

- 673) **baata** **ata** **katsylama** **bəmuə** **mfó**
 bà= á- tá à- *tá kà- tsylama bà= múó mǎfó
 3PL.NOM= HAB shoot NCL8 gun INF surround 3PL.NOM= catch there
bedu , **nya fěě** **buusu**
 bà= dú nyá fěě bò= ó- sù
 3PL.NOM= leave then 3PL.NOM= FUT go
bəsiə .
 bà= sí -ə
 3PL.NOM= dwell NON-STV
 ‘They shoot guns around to capture the area then they will go and settle’
 (History_amankrado 3.103)

- 674) **waakpe** **mba** **lò** **kutu** **əsuə**
 wà= á- kpé mbá ló kútù əsúə
 3SG.NOM= HAB add salt LOC soup body
 ‘He adds salt to soup’ (Verbs 406.1)

8.1.3 Future

The focal use of future is equivalent to a prediction on the part of the speaker that the situation in the proposition, which denotes an event taking place after the moment of speech, will hold (Bybee et al. 1994:244). The prediction may refer to the intention, desire, willingness, obligation, ability and possibility that the events may occur after the utterance or a reference point. The means for expressing the future may vary from one language to another, as well as the relationship to the expression of modality. Secondly, some languages may have means for primary future and aspectual futures. Others may distinguish between immediate and simple future. In Sekpele, we can distinguish between events which are imminent or about to take place in the near future, and those that are non-imminent. I refer to them as prospective and primary future respectively.

8.1.3.1 Primary future

In Sekpele, the primary future refers to events that are expected to occur at a remote reference time from the utterance or current time. The morpheme for expressing the primary future is /**(b)ó-**/ and its variant. When the future co-occurs with a subject NP or the 2SG subject pronominal (in some cases), the future morpheme is realised as **bó-**, depending on the vowel quality of the verb.

- 675) **Kofi bóye usu asi**
 Kofi **bó-** yé ò= sù àsì
 Kofi **FUT** walk 3SG.NOM= go market
 ‘Kofi will walk to the market’ (Verb_morphology 14.1)

- 676) **utidi ɔni butsyi mfó bókɔ ku mə**
 ò- *tídi ò- *ní **bó-** tsyì m̀fó **bó-** kó kú mé
 NCL1 person CL1 one **FUT** come from there **FUT** join with 3PL.ACC
 ‘One person will come from there and will join them’ (King_making 2.1)

- 677) **eboba nyã lemo** ,
 à= **bó-** bá nyã lè= m̀d̀
 2SG.NOM FUT break 3SG.REL.PRO REL= become big
ebɔse nyã lemo kenke aba
 à= **bó-** s̀e nyã lè= m̀d̀ kɛŋkɛ à= bá
 2SG.NOM FUT pick 3SG.REL.PRO REL= become big all 2SG.NOM break
 ‘You will break those which are big, you will gather all those which are big and break them’
 (Soap_making 28.1)

The consonant is however deleted in all other environments. As stated already, the 2SG may take both forms, as in:

- 678) **ebokpe kotoku fẽẽ fuuwinisə ntɔ**
 à= **bó-** kpé kò- *tòkú fẽẽ fò= ó- wínisə ñtɔ
 2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM= FUT pour ash
buã akpo lə kotoku əsuə .
 buã à= kpó lə kò- *tòkú əsúə
 CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body
 ‘You will put a sack before you pour the ash into the sack’ (Soap_making 18.4)

- 679) **nya fẽẽ fuutəka ntu ekiti akpo fẽẽ**
 nyá fẽẽ fò= ó- tóká ñtù à= kútí à= kpó fẽẽ
 then 2SG.NOM= FUT put on water 2SG.NOM fetch 2SG.NOM pour before
kolo kuã luudu kenke iləka ntu
 kò- *ló kuã lè= ó- dù kɛŋkɛ é= lókà ñtù
 NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL= FUT drip all 3SG.NOM= remove water
lə ntɔ buã əsuə , efi ntɔ buã
 lə ñ-tɔ buã əsúə à= fí ñ-tɔ buã
 LOC NCL10-ash CL10.DEF body 2SG.NOM take NCL10-ash CL10.DEF
ewi .
 à= wí
 2SG.NOM pour away
 ‘Then you will put water on fire and pour it before the soda ash will drip totally from the soda ash and throw the soda ash away’ (Soap_making 18.5)

- The future can be used in connection with certain verbs in a clause to depict the modality associated with such verbs. For instance, its occurrence with the verb *lá* ‘love’ will indicate desire while *fó* ‘able’ will indicate ability:

- The future morpheme can also be used to show a ‘relative tense’ effect, where the interpretation is in relation to the reference time of the main verb in the main clause:

686)	enii	buusu			bafo		ɔkwe	kola
	èníí	bò =	ó-	sù	bà =	fó	ɔkwé	kólá
	probably	3PL.NOM =	FUT	go	3PL.NOM =	cultivate	farm	even
	bətə	oka		lə kasə	kpe mə	.		
	bà =	tá	ó-	*ká	lá	kàsɛ	kpé	má
	3PL.NOM =	give	NCL1	chief	if	down	exist	3PL.ACC
	'Probably they will go and even farm for the chief if they have land'						(King making 14.19)	

687)	buutsyi			befi			besuko		
	bò =	ó-	tsyí	bà =	fǐ		bà =	sù	-kó
	3PL.NOM =	FUT	carry	3PL.NOM =	take		3PL.NOM =	go	ASSOC
	untsya		luufi		kesu		kefi	kedi	.
	ò =	-n-	tsyâ	lò =	ó-	fǐ	kà-	sù	kà- fǐ kà- dí
	3SG.NOM =	LIG	too	REL =	FUT	take	INF	go	INF take INF eat
	‘They will carry it to him, he too will take it away to go and eat.’								(King making 14.21)

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- Paying attention to the above examples, we can observe that **bə** ‘come’ and **su** ‘go’ occur in distinct syntactic constructions. The former occurs in a periphrastic construction involving a nominalized verb complement whereas the latter occurs with other verbs in a serial-verb construction. The **bə**-clause, as in (688) and (689), could have an intentional interpretation where the participant(s) may be view as having a mere intention to perform the action in the clause. The **su**-clause, as in

693) ntɔ keku eti
 n̩ = tʂ kè- kú ètí
1SG.NOM = go.towards NCL9 cry place
'I am going to a funeral'

(694) ntsyi lesa kawāko / kediko
 ñ = tsyì lèsá ká- wà -kó ká- dí -kó
 1SG.NOM = come.from thing INF cook PURPOSE INF eat PURPOSE
 ‘I was coming from cooking/eating food’

The prospective can be expressed with no reference to any deictic verb. It may be used to express the intention of the participant(s) at the moment of speech.

- 696) **oyinsə** **wə** **oxɔ̃** **kafo** **nkə**
 ó = yí -n- -sə wə ɔ̃xɔ̃ kàfô nkə
 3SG.NOM.PST = pain LIG CAUS 3SG.POSS friend inside that
baakpo
 bà = á- kpò
 3PL.NOM = **PROSP** fight
 ‘He provoked his friend to fight’ (Verbs 446.1)

- 697) **nya te minkə maateri** .
 nyá tè minkə mà = á- téyí
 3SG.PN only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = **PROSP** say
 ‘That only I want to say’ (Buying_name 40.1)

The prospective can be used to express various states of unreality such as wish, emotion, possibility, judgment, opinion, necessity, or action that has not yet occurred, as in:

- 698) **onkə bæsiə nko te** .
 ónkə bà = á- sí -ə nkò tè
 3SG.COMP 3PL.NOM = **PROSP** dwell NON-STV like that only
 ‘He said they should just stay like that’ (History_amankrado 3.93)

- 699) **boesu bowã lesa**
 bò = á- sù bò = wã lèsá
 1PL.NOM = **PROSP** go 1SG.NOM cook thing
 ‘We should go and cook food’

The prospective can also be used relative to another event or state of affairs. When this occurs, the prospective event is expected to occur after the reference event, either in the past or in the future.

- 700) **bale bukpo katsylo , beedu**
 bà = lé bò- kpó kà- tsyló bà = á- dú
 3PL.NOM = hold NMLZ die INF perish 3PL.NOM = **PROSP** leave
onr
 ó = nî
 3SG.NOM.PST = refuse
 ‘They were dying and perishing, they should leave, he refused’ (History_amankrado 3.116)

701)	lə	udu		mfó	tsya	keyifo		əbə		wə										
	lǎ	ó =		dú	mǎfó	tsyâ	kà-	*yífó	ǎ-	bé	wè									
	if	3SG.NOM.PST =	leave	there	too	NCL9	work	PROSP	come	3SG.ACC										
	bobɪa																			
	bo-	bìá																		
	NMLZ	be spoil																		
	‘If he leaves there too, his work will go bad’																			
	(King making 16.7)																			

In summary, the function of the prospective is that of imminent future orientation. Thus, a proposition is made that the planned event or state of affairs will happen after the moment of speech or a reference point. It also portrays the intention on the part of the participant(s) in performing the intended action. Finally, the purposive function of the prospective is to indicate the movement to a place on the part of the participant(s) in order to carry out the intended action.

8.2 Phasal aspect

An event or state of affairs may have a beginning, a middle portion, an end and also an ensuing result or an altered state (Bhat 1999:49; Dik 1989:186). These are considered to be the various ‘phases’ of an event. These phases are also described as *onset*, *nucleus* and *coda* (Freed 2012:30; Wierzbicka 1988:77). A speaker may talk about an event from the point of view of any of these individual phases, and his language may have inflectional (or other types of) markers for representing these distinctions. Other languages may express phasal aspect by means of verbs. The markers of onset, nucleus and coda phases may be referred to as ingressive/inceptive, progressive/continuative, and egressive/completive respectively. Phasal aspect also includes the cessative/terminative, as in §7.3.4.

8.2.1 Ingressive/inceptive

The ingressive/inceptive aspect refers to the beginning of a state of affairs (Bhat 1999:176; Bybee 1985:147; Payne 1997:240). Whereas some languages may express the inceptive aspect with an inflectional element on the verb, other languages express it by means of verbs whose meaning include ‘start’ and ‘begin’. Sekpele expresses inceptive aspect with the verbs *tsyikó* ‘begin/start’ and *tó* ‘start’. The verb *tó* is used in relation to starting a song. It originated from the verb *tó* ‘throw’.

Inceptive aspect is illustrated in:

- 702) **ole keyifo kəmə kasɔ butsyiko**
 ò = lé kà- *yífó ká- mé kàsɔ bó- **tsyikó**
 3SG.NOM = hold NCL9 work CL9 the down NMLZ **begin**
 ‘He is beginning the work’ (Verbs 269.1)

- 703) **buutsyiko keyifo kəmə kasɔ**
 bó = ò- **tsyikó** kà- *yífó ká- mé kàsɔ
 1PL.NOM.PST = ANT **begin** NCL9 work CL9 the down
 ‘They have begun the work’ (Verbs 270.1)

- 704) **to lə mbə sə ku fə**
tó lé ñ = bó sɛ kú fɛ
start then 1SG.NOM = come sing with 2SG.ACC
 ‘Start then I come and sing with you’ (Good_old_days 23.1)

8.2.2 Progressive/continuative

Progressive/continuative aspect expresses the continuity of a situation. The verb *sùkòsɛ* consists of the verb *sù* ‘go’, and the verbal extensions *-kò* ‘ASSOC’ and *-sɛ* ‘CAUS’ and it is used to express the continuative aspect, as in:

- 705) **bəkpəfi bǎ esukosə lesa budi**
 bǎ- *kpəfí bǎ à- sù -kó -sɛ lèsá bó- dí
 NCL2 child CL2.DEF PFV go ASSOC CAUS food NMLZ eat
 ‘The children continued with eating’ (Miscellaneous 104.1)

- 706) **usio** **əmə** **le** **bowǎ** **kesukosə**
 ò- *sìó á- mǎ lé bó- wǎ kǎ- sù -kó -sə
 NCL1 woman CL1 the hold NMLZ cook **PROG** go **ASSOC** **CAUS**
 ‘The woman is continuing with cooking’
 (Miscellaneous 105.1)

8.2.3 Egressive/completive

The completive aspect signals that a situation or event has ended. The verb *lò* ‘be finished’ is used to express a completive aspect in Sèkpele, as in:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 707) | lə | eklu | | | alosə | | | | |
| | lá | á = | | klù | á = | | lò | -sə̀ | |
| | if | 2SG.NOM.PST | | weed with hoe | 2SG.NOM.PST | | be finish | CAUS | |
| | akpa | | sefa | | esu | | ewi | | |
| | à = | kpá | sé- | *fã | à = | sù | à = | wí | |
| | 2SG.NOM | gather | NCL11 | grass | 2SG.NOM | go | 2SG.NOM | pour away | |
| | ‘If you finish weeding with a hoe, then you gather the grass away’ | | | | | | | (Good_old_days 6.4) | |
| 708) | ofo | | | wə | | diyo | | eto | kayo |
| | ó = | | fó | wé | | lè- | *yó | eto | kàyó |
| | 3SG.NOM.PST = | | pay | 3SG.POSS | | NCL5 | house | POSS | debt |
| | olosə | | | | | | | | |
| | ó = | | lò | -sə̀ | | | | | |
| | 3SG.NOM.PST = | | be finish | CAUS | | | | | |
| | ‘He has finished paying for his house’ | | | | | | | (Verbs 483.1) | |
| 709) | lə | nkpr | | | nlosəə | | | | |
| | lá | ń = | | kpí | ń = | | lò | -sə̀ | =ə̀ |
| | if | 1SG.NOM.PST = | | scrape | 1SG.NOM.PST = | | be finish | CAUS | =TOP |
| | moose | | | sɛfɔ | mə | | | | |
| | mò = | ó- | sé | sɛ̀fɔ̀ | má | | | | |
| | 1SG.NOM = | FUT | pinch | nail | like this | | | | |
| | ‘If I finish scraping, I will pinch with fingernails like this’ | | | | | | | (Pottery 166.1) | |

8.2.4 Cessative/terminative

The cessative/terminative aspect in Sɛkpɛle is expressed with the verb **yɛ** ‘stop’, as in:

- 710) **nya eso bǎ tsya leye bunə**
 nyá éśô bá tsyâ lè= yè bó- nà
 therefore 3PL.DEM too REL= stop NMLZ drink
 ‘Therefore those too have stopped drinking it’ (Pottery 203.1)

- 711) **mbe , ye boso .**
 mbê yè bò- só
 mother stop NMLZ beat
 ‘Mother, stop beating’ (Palm_oil 14.1)

8.3 Mood and modality

Modality is the grammaticization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions (Bybee et al., 1994). The distinction between mood and modality is similar to that between tense and time, gender and sex. Modality designates the conceptual domain which may take various types of linguistic expression, while mood designates the inflectional expression of a subdivision of this semantic domain (Bybee 1985:169; Palmer 1986:21). The notion of mood and modality is not restricted to the verb but expands across an entire clause or sentence. It is useful to distinguish various types of modality because these types of modality correlate with different types of formal expression. Most relevant literature distinguishes between epistemic and deontic modalities. However, in this work, I will adopt the classification of modality proposed in Bybee et al. (1994). According to Bybee, modality can be sub-classified into (i) agent-oriented (ii) speaker-oriented (iii) epistemic and (iv) subordination. The aim of this section is to account for the expression of modality in Sèkpele in relation to the various types enumerated.

8.3.1 Agent-oriented modality

Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of an action expressed in the main predicate. Agent-oriented modality can be expressed by lexical or grammatical morphemes. Some of the most semantically specific notions include obligation, necessity, ability and desire. Obligation reports the existence of external, social conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action. Necessity on the other hand, reports the existence of physical conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action. In Sekpele, the contracted complement clause *élebəə* is used to indicate both obligation and necessity.

- 712) *lə bənkə ubə mmi mmi la* ,
lɔ́ bɔ́nkə ò = bá òmì òmì lá
 if 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= come today today TOP
elebəə wuubə .
é = lè bəə wò = ó- bá
 3SG.NOM= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= FUT come
 ‘If they say he should come today, it is necessary he should come’ (King_making 14.10)

- 713) *elebəə kalə to uninə ebəke* .
*é = lè bəə kálè tò ó- *nínə è- bó- kè*
 3SG.NOM= resemble 3PL.COMP clan POSS NCL1 elder SCR FUT exist
 ‘It is necessary an elder of a clan will exist’ (History_amankrado 11.5)

The socially compelling condition can be felt in the *bəə* part of *élebəə* which is a contracted form of *bə́nkə* ‘3PL.COMP lit: they say that’, when we compare it to *mínkə* or *míə* which expresses a speaker’s subjective opinion.

- 714) *nya te minkə maatɛɪ* .
nyá tè mínkə mà = á- téyí
 3SG.ACC only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM= PROSP say
 ‘That only I want to say’ (Buy_name 40.1)

- 715) **ntɛɪ** **mɪnkə** **fookpo** **ntu** **lə** **ko**
 ń = tɛ́yí **míńkà** fò = ó- **kpó** **ńtù** **lá** **kó**
 1SG.NOM.PST = say **1SG.COMP** 2SG.NOM = FUT pour water LOC CL7.ACC
 ‘I said that you will pour water into it’ (Soap_making 16.2)

Necessity can also be expressed by the verb *hiá* ‘need’. Depending on the kind of element it occurs with, it can be seen as expressing either objective or subjective opinion.

- 716) **nya eso** **ehɪa** **bəə** **untsya**
 nyá éso é = **hiá** **báə** ò = -n- **tsyá**
 therefore 3SG.NOM = **need** 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = **LIG** **too**
wɔkɛ **lə** **nti** **kokoko** .
 wò = ó- **kè** **lè** **ńtí** **kòkòkò**
 3SG.NOM = FUT be available LOC between certainly
 ‘Therefore it is necessary that he too will certainly be present’ (King_making 19.9)

- 717) **ntɛɪ** **miə** **yoohɪa** **bəə**
 ń = tɛ́yí **míə** yò = ó- **hiá** **báə**
 1SG.NOM.PST = say 1SG.COMP 3SG.NOM = FUT **need** 3PL.COMP
wuubə **nə** .
 wò = ó- **bá** **ná**
 3SG.NOM = FUT come really
 ‘I said that it is necessary that he will come really’ (King_making 19.5)

In (716), the social obligation of the referent, in this the case the king or chief, to be available when needed is marked by *báə*. In (717), although the speaker is expressing his subjective opinion, the referent is socially obligated to come, which is marked by *báə*. This phenomenon of expressing necessity is also present in Ewe, which suggests that it may have been borrowed from Ewe (see Ameka 2008:147). However, this may be a crosslinguistic phenomenon since the Sekpele *élèbáə* ‘it resembles they say’ is semantically similar to the Akan *èsèsèé* ‘it resembles say’ and the Ga *èsààkè* ‘it befits they say’. Another word that has been borrowed from Ewe that expresses obligation and necessity is *édzèbé*, as shown in:

- 718) **nya eso edzebe la ətsyə kaso kase**
 nyá ésô é= dzèbé lá à= tsyà kàsô kàsé
 therefore 3SG.NOM= be necessary then 2SG.NOM start how
footonsə
 fō= ó- tò -n- -sə
 2SG.NOM= FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘Therefore it is necessary you start from how you will burn it’ (Soap_making 9.1)
- 719) **edzebe bənyə bənkə , wəmfó to**
 é= dzèbé bà= nyà bənkà wà= mfó tò
 3SG.NOM= be necessary 3PL.NOM= find 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= that POSS
okle mə , ntsyə wə ditsyəbi nte ?
 ó- *klè má ñtsyá wá lè- tsyà -bí ñ= té
 NCL1 kind like this how 3SG.POSS NCL5 behave NMLZ REL= be
 ‘It is necessary they find out that such a person like him: how is his behaviour?’
 (King_making 2.9)

Ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions of the agent(s) with respect to the predicate action. In Səkpəle, the notion of ability is expressed by the verb *fó* ‘be able’, as in:

- 720) **woofə ɔbeyi əmə bola**
 wò= ó- fó ò- *bé *yî á- má bó- là
 3SG.NOM= FUT be able NCL3 palmnut tree CL3 the NMLZ cut
 ‘He is able to cut the palm tree’ (Verbs 362.1)
- 721) **waamfo ɔbeyi əmə bola**
 wà= á- n- fó ò- *bé *yî á- má bó- là
 3SG.NOM= HAB NEG be able NCL3 palmnut tree CL3 the NMLZ cut
 ‘He is unable to cut the palm tree’ (Verbs 363.1)

That which is of much interest is the fact that the verb *fó* takes a nominalized VP as its complement (see §8.1.2.1.1).

The final notion of modality to be accounted for in this section is desire. Desire reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the

predicate action. In Sèkpele, the notion of desire is expressed by the verb *lá* ‘love/want/desire/wish’, as in the following examples:

- 722) **nya minla miə mæləkə**
 nyá mì = n- **lá** míð mà = á- lókà
 3SG.PN 1SG.NOM = EMPH **want** 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP reveal
nte fə mə nə .
 ñ = té fə mǎ ná
 1SG.NOM = show 2SG.ACC like this really
 ‘That I wanted to reveal to you like this really’ (History_amankrado 1.2)

- 723) **waala nkə waake awu fəfə**
 wà = á- **lá** níkà wà = á- kè àwù fǒfǒ
 3SG.NOM = HAB **want** COMP 3SG.NOM = HAB get clothing new
 ‘He wants to have a new garment’ (Verbs 148.1)

The above examples show that the verb *lá* takes a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *ńkà*, or any of its contracted forms as in *míð* in (722). The verb *lá* can also take a complement clause introduced by the optative marker *lə*, as in:

- 724) **ola lə usiə nkpə**
 ó = **lá** lə ò = síǎ ñkpǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = **wish** OPT 3SG.NOM = live life
 ‘He wished to live’ (Verbs 146.1)

- 725) **ola lə udu**
 ó = **lá** lə ò = dú
 3SG.NOM.PST = **wish** OPT 3SG.NOM = leave
 ‘He wished to leave’ (Verbs 147.1)

The verb *la* can also take a nominalized VP as its complement, as shown in:

- 726) **okala kamo boyımı**
 ó = kà- **lá** kàmǎ bó- yímì
 3SG.NOM.PST = PROG **love** rice NMLZ chew
 ‘He used to love eating rice’ (Verbs 7.1)

According to Bybee et al. (1994), most semantic senses of agent-oriented modality can be generalized over time to express broader meanings. For instance, in the

formation of the future, both desire and obligation can come to be used in the expression of the agent's intention, especially in the first person. Desire can also give rise to willingness.

- 727) **Bala tsyaa** , **boala** **se** **baatafa**
 Bálá tsyâ = bò = á- lá sé bá = à- táfá
 Bala too =TOP 1PL.NOM= HAB love since 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cheat
bo ko boala .
 bò kò bò = á- lá
 1PL.ACC then 1PL.NOM= HAB love
 'Bala too, we love it since they had cheated us then we love it' (History_amankrado 3.75)

Ability generalizes to possibility, which reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal condition of ability, but also reports on general external conditions such as social and physical conditions.

- 728) **ole** **boto** **le wofofo** **bubə**
 ò = lé bó- tò ló wò = ó- fó bó- bá
 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ ask if 3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ come
 'He is asking if he could come' (Verbs 142.1)

- 729) **wofofo** **budu** **kesu** **kake** **le lelensi**
 wò = ó- fó bó- dú kà- sù kà- kè ló lélènsì
 3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ leave INF go INF exist LOC abroad
 'He will be able to leave to stay abroad' (King_making 14.4)

8.3.2 Speaker-oriented modality

Speaker-oriented modality involves utterances which impose or propose some course of action or pattern of behaviour and indicate that it should be carried out. It involves directives such as commands, demands, requests, warnings, exhortations and recommendations. Grammatical terms used in the literature for these speaker-oriented modalities are imperative, prohibitive, optative, hortative, admonitive and permissive. Imperative is the form used to issue direct commands or orders to a

second person. In Sekpele, the second person singular is not marked in the imperative unless it is emphatic or topicalized, whereas the second person plural is marked, as shown in:

- 730) **smr siku siəmə**
sɪ̀nì sè- *kú sí- mǎ
open NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘Open the door’ (Verbs 87.1)

- 731) **fə ti siku siəmə**
fǝ tí sè- *kú sí- mǎ
2SG.PN close NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘You! Close the door’ (Verbs 89.1)

- 732) **bəkɔse betɪ məmlə loo** .
bè= kósé bè= tí mǎmlǎ lóó
2PL.NOM= hurry 2PL.NOM= crush quickly INTERJ
 ‘Hurry and crush it quickly’ (Palm_kennel_oil 15.1)

- 733) **bimble kenke bibə obɪa** .
bè= -n- *blé kɛŋké bè= bá òbíá
2PL.NOM= LIG all all 2PL.NOM= come community centre
 ‘You all should come to the community centre’ (History_amankrado 11.9)

Prohibitive is the form used to issue a negative command or order. It is normally issued to the addressee(s) to ensure that the action or state of affairs does not occur. In Sekpele, the negative marker is introduced into the morphology of the first verb of an imperative construction and its function of prohibition is carried across the entire clause or sentence.

- 734) **manle futsyuə to kasə afo** .
n- à- n- lé f= ùtsyúà tò kàsə à= fò
NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS= somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM receive
 ‘Don't seize somebody's land’ (Punishment 1.1)

- 735) **mènkesu** **asole əmə**
 n- à- n- kà- sù àsòlé á- mǎ
 NEG PFV NEG PROG go church CL the
 ‘Don't be going to the church’ (Verb_morph 51.1)

- 736) **biènkesu** **asole əmə**
 bià = n- kà- sù àsòlé á- mǎ
 2PL.NOM NEG PROG go church CL the
 ‘(You (pl)) Don't be going to the church’

Both the optative and hortative express the wish of a speaker about a future state of affairs. Optative is the form used to express a wish or hope on the part of the speaker in the main clause. Hortative on the other hand, is the form used to encourage or incite someone to perform an action. The distinction between the optative and hortative is the fact that the hortative appeals to the addressee(s) to ensure that the future state of affairs occurs while the optative does not require the addressee(s) to do anything. The accomplishment of the latter is based on fate. In Sèkpele, the particle **lǎ** is used for both the optative and the hortative.

- 737) **uyifo** **lǎ bulǎ bɔye bubǎ lǎ wǎ**
 ò = yífó **lǎ** bǎ- lǎ bǎ- yè bǎ- bǎ lǎ wǎ
 3SG.NOM = do OPT NMLZ worry FUT stop NMLZ come LOC 3SG.ACC
əsua
 àsúǎ
 top of
 ‘He should do it so that trouble will stop coming to him’ (King_making 10.7)

- 738) **lǎ beowǎ nnuǎ lǎ bitǎ lǎ**
 lǎ bǎ = ó- wǎ nnuǎ **lǎ** bǎ = tǎ **lǎ**
 if 2PL.NOM = FUT cook palm oil HORT 2PL.NOM = allow HORT
nte **lǎ** ... **nbǎ** **yifo** .
 n = tǎ **lǎ** n = bǎ yífó
 1SG.NOM = know HORT 1SG.NOM = come do
 ‘If you will make palm oil, let me know so I come and do it’ (Palm_oil 21.1)

739) Onanto	lə	ɔwɔnsəko	wə
ònántó	lɛ́	ɔ̀ =	wɔ́nsàkó wə̀
Almighty God	OPT	3SG.NOM =	help 3SG.ACC
‘God should help him’			

In (737), the speaker is expressing his wish or desire for a third party (in this case a chief) to perform his responsibilities in order to avert any calamity befalling him. In another context, (737) could be interpreted as expressing an indirect exhortation or admonition to a third party to perform his responsibilities. In (738), the speaker is inciting the addressees to inform him of a possible future state of affairs so that he can come and participate, whereas (739) expresses a wish on the part of the speaker for a third party to be helped by God in his situation.

8.3.3 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality indicates the extent to which a speaker is committed to the truth of a proposition. An unmarked proposition may be said to indicate a total commitment to the truth of the proposition whereas a marked proposition attributes uncertainty and no assurance on the part of the speaker in relation to the truth of the proposition. In most languages, the declarative or the indicative is the unmarked form. There are two sub-systems of epistemic modality that are marked cross-linguistically: (i) Judgements which involve speculation and deduction; and (2) Evidentials such as ‘hearsay’, ‘report’, or the evidence of the senses (Palmer, 1986:53). According to Bybee et al. (1994), epistemic modality may include possibility, probability and inferred certainty. Possibility indicates that the proposition may possibly be true. Probability indicates a greater likelihood that the proposition is true than possibility does. A stronger sense of probability is found in the notion of inferred certainty, which strongly implies that the speaker has good

reason for supposing that the proposition is true. Counterfactual indicates the expression of something or an event as contrary to fact.

In Sekpele, truth and inferred certainty are expressed with *èkpè* ‘truly’, *ònkùálé* ‘truth’ *tìntì* ‘true’ and *kòkòkò* ‘certainly’, as in:

- 740) *lə efe esi lə lekpome fěě ekpe*
*lá èfě à= sí lá lè- *kpòmé fěě èkpè*
 if now 2SG.NOM dwell LOC NCL5 stool before truly
eeke ekuku aleə , [consideration] kpe
*é= à- kpé á- *kùkù àléé kpé*
 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV exist NCL6 piece alone exist
bofo fə butə .
bò= ó- fó fə bò- tó
 3PL.NOM= FUT be able 2SG.ACC NMLZ give
 ‘If you already sit on the throne before truly it became amputated alone, they will be able to give you some consideration’
 (King_making 2.14)

- 741) *mò ònkùále mọtəi fə . banle*
mô ònkùálé mò= ó- téyí fə bà= n- lé
 1SG.PN truth 1SG.NOM= FUT tell 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= NEG hold
bofo bubə .
bò- fó bó- bá
 NMLZ be able NMLZ come
 ‘As for me the truth I will tell you. They aren't able to come.’
 (King_making 16.2/3)

- 742) *ònkùále , utidi ònni , se bæəsə*
*ònkùálé ò- *tídi ò- *ní = sé bá= à- sè*
 truth NCL1 person CL1 one =TOP when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV sing
lə Kpalime , se utinkəsə disi , keku ko
lá Kpalime sé ò= tìnkà -sə dísi kèkú kò
 LOC Kpalime when 3SG.NOM= shake CAUS head cry then
onle buwi .
ò= n- lé bó- wì
 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold NMLZ cry
 ‘Truthfully, one person, when they sung in Kpalime, when she shook her head, she was just crying’
 (Good_old_days 16.2)

- 743) **oka to etiki nyəmə eyifo sitinti**
 ó- *ká tò à- *tìkí nyá- má à- yífó sitinti
 NCL1 chief POSS NCL6 word CL6 the PFV do truth
 ‘The chief’s words are true’ (Verbs 139.1)
- 744) **gake kokoko se ini wə ni disisi la , ditsyuə**
 gake kòkòkò sé è= ní wə ní dísi lá lè- tsyúá
 but **certainly** since 3SG.NOM= be 3SG.PN be head TOP CL5 some
bohía wə kokoko loke lə nya əsuə fěě
 bó- hiá wə kòkòkò lò= ó- kè lá nyá əsúá fěě
 FUT need 3SG.PN **certainly** REL= FUT exist LOC 3SG.POSS top of before
buuyifo ni
 bò= ó- yífó ní
 3PL.NOM= FUT do CL5.ACC
 ‘But certainly since it is him who is the head, some will require him certainly to be there
 before they will do it (King_making 19.4)

On the other hand, possibility and probability are expressed with **yá** ‘probably’, **əníf** ‘probably’, **ənyə** ‘perhaps’ and **íkpa** ‘perhaps’, as in:

- 745) **məmə bənkə Marti ...[was it] yuuyifo fenke**
 mámá bónkə Marti yò= ó- yífó fè níkà
 3PL.PN 3PL.COMP Marti 3SG.NOM= FUT make like that
Odartey ya
 Odartey **yá**
 Odartey **probably**
 ‘They say Marti ... was it ... it probably look like Odartey’ (History_amankrado 9.1)
- 746) **lə umbə la , bueyifo ya gake**
 lá ò= n- b́ó lá b̀ò= á- yífó **yá** gake
 if 3SG.NOM= NEG exist TOP 1PL.NOM= HAB do **probably** but
kokoko ehia bəə enii untsya
 kòkòkò é= hiá b́ò **əníf** ò= -n- tsyá
 certainly 3SG.NOM.PST= need 3PL.COMP **probably** 3SG.NOM= LIG too
əboke fěě lə butsyue
 à- bó- kè fěě ĺó b̀ò= tsyúé
 SCR FUT exist before HORT 1PL.NOM= arrange
 ‘If he isn’t there, we probably do it but certainly it is necessary that probably he too will be
 there before we plan’ (King_making 19.6)

- 747) **nnye oya kafia kpo uta fə .**
̀nyè ò = yà kà- *fiá kpò ò = tá fə
perhaps 3SG.NOM= buy NCL9 cloth huge 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Perhaps s/he buys a huge cloth for you’ (Buying_name 13.1)
- 748) **nya tsya bobo nkpa ?**
nyá tsyâ bó- bó nkpa
 3SG.PN too FUT get out **perhaps**
 ‘Will that too appear perhaps?’ (Pottery 273.1)

Table 8.1 provides a summary of words that express epistemic modality and their meaning:

Modality	Term and gloss
Truth and inferred certainty	<i>èkpè</i> ‘truly’
	<i>̀nòkòálé</i> ‘truth’
	<i>tìntì</i> ‘true’
	<i>kòkòkò</i> ‘certainly’
Possibility and probability	<i>yá</i> ‘probably’
	<i>èníí</i> ‘probably’
	<i>̀nyè</i> ‘perhaps’
	<i>̀nkpa</i> ‘perhaps’

Table 8.1: Epistemic modality

Further studies need to be done in this area.

8.3.4 Subordinating mood

This section deals with situations where mood and modality are expressed by subordinate clauses. There are several types of subordinate clause. They may include complement clauses, concessive clauses, and purposive clauses. Complement clauses are introduced by a lexical subordinator, or ‘predicator’, most importantly a verb which can be interpreted as reporting something that was said or might have been

said by the subject of the main clause (Palmer, 1986:127). A concessive clause is one which expresses an idea that is opposite to that one in the main clause. In English, concessive clauses are introduced by conjunctions and particles such as ‘although’, ‘even though’, ‘despite’, and ‘in spite of’. Purpose clauses express a motivating event which is unrealised at the time of the main event. Details of these clauses are provided in §10.2, §10.3.8 and §10.3.4 respectively.

8.4 Negation

Negation is an element used for denial of a term or clause. The negation of terms falls in the domain of word formation. Examples of such forms of negation are the English prefixes *un-*, *in-* and *dis-*. The term for this kind of negation is ‘lexical negation’ (Dahl, 2010:11). Negation in the clausal domain is referred to as ‘sentential negation’. The aim of this section is to focus on sentential negation. Most literature on negation has distinguished two classes of sentential negation: ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’. Standard negation is the term used for the expression of negation in simple clauses or declarative sentences (Dahl, 2010; Miestamo, 2007; Payne, 1985). Non-standard negation is the term used for the expression of negation in non-verbal predicates, imperatives and existential sentences (Dahl, 2010:26).

Languages employ several strategies for the expression of negation. These include (i) morphological, (ii) negative particles, and (iii) negative verbs. In morphological negation, negation is expressed by an affix, normally on a verb or an auxiliary (Dahl, 1979:81, 2010:14; Payne, 1985:226). In languages with negative particles, negation is expressed by independent words rather than affixes (Dahl, 2010:19). Negative verbs on the other hand, are expressed by negative main verbs and auxiliary negative verbs (Dahl, 2010:20; Payne, 1985). According to Dahl, the

expression of negation by verbs is rare. However, this is attested in Sekpele, in the formation of negative existential clauses (see also Ameka, 2007:1070). Most languages may employ double negation in a sentence by a combination of these strategies.

8.4.1 Standard negation

The languages of the West African region show a complexity of negation patterns that are linked to the type of TAM employed in a sentence. The issue of different negation patterns in different TAMs is very challenging and requires a deep analysis of the conceptualization of negation in a language (Cyffer, 2009:1). In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root, depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may be doubly marked based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON, especially the second person. The aim of the following subsections is to outline and account for the various variations that may result in the expression of negation.

8.4.1.1 Past/perfective negation

In §8.1.1.1, I stated that past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. The perfective is marked directly on the verb whereas the past is indirectly marked on the verb via the subject pronominals. The same scenario applies to the negation of the past and perfective. However, the negative marker occurs as a double negated word when the perfective or 2SG pronominal is involved, as in (749) and (750) respectively. In all other situations of a past event, a

single negative marker occurs closer to the verb root before all other prefixes, as in (751) and (752):

749) **kolesa manlo**

kólèsá n- à- n- ló
 anything NEG PFV NEG fall
 ‘Nothing fell’ (Adverbs 70.1)

750) **lə fenkə əmənnyə nte**
 lə fěnkə á = n- à- n- nyè ntè
 if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG find wine
ebutsyi ntu
 à = bó- tsyí ntù
 2SG.NOM FUT carry water
 ‘If assuming you don't get wine, you will carry water’ (Buying_name 47.2)

751) **wemfi kolesa**
 wá = n- fĩ kólèsá
 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG take anything
 ‘He didn't take anything’ (Adverb 69.1)

752) **nya lə fenkə manwā lekonklo nəmfó**
 nyá lə fěnkə má = n- wā lèkònklo ná- mfó
 then if assuming 1SG.NOM.PST = NEG cook Lèkònklo CL5 that
 ‘Then if assuming I don't cook that lekonklo’ (Buying_name 53.2)

8.4.1.2 Habitual negation

The negative marker usually occurs between the habitual and the verb root. Thus, it occurs after the habitual and before the verb root in linear order. In most cases, a single negative marker occurs with the habitual.

753) **Kofi énsu asole əmə**
 Kofi á- n- sù àsòlé á- má
 Kofi HAB NEG go church CL the
 ‘Kofi doesn't go to the church’ (Verb_morph 42.1)

- 754) **Kofi ánye kesu asi əmə**
 Kofi á- n- yé kà- sù àsì á- mó
 Kofi HAB NEG walk INF go market CL the
 ‘Kofi doesn't walk to the market’ (Verb_morph 43.1)
- 755) **yaankele kon .**
 yà= á- n- kélé kón
 3SG.NOM= HAB NEG take much time really
 ‘It really doesn't take much time’ (Naming_ceremony 19.1)
- 756) **weenwi kulefe**
 wà= á- n- wì kúléfè
 3SG.NOM= HAB NEG cry never
 ‘S/he never cries’ (Adverb 62.1)

However, if a negative habitual occurs in a conditional clause, it takes the form of a double negated construction, as in:

- 757) **nya eso lə amanla bənkə**
 nyá ésô ló á= n- á- n- lá bənkə
 therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG HAB NEG want 3PL.COMP
eso fə la , lə ntu fəə ...
 é= só fə lá ló ntù fəə
 3SG.NOM= beat 2SG.ACC TOP if water you say
 ‘Therefore if you don’t want to lose, if water you say ...’ (Buying_name 49.1)

8.4.1.3 Progressive negation

8.4.1.3.1 Present progressive negation

In §7.2.2.1.1, I stated that the present progressive in Sekpele is expressed by a periphrastic construction in which the verb *le* ‘hold’ takes a phrasal complement that expresses the progressive aspect. In order to indicate negation in the present progressive, the negative marker /n-/ is prefixed to the verb *le* to form the negative present progressive, as in:

The negative past progressive in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n-/ before the progressive marker. The progressive marker is closer to the verb root than the negative marker. When a NP subject or the 2SG pronominal is involved, a double negated construction is realised. These are illustrated in:

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- 764) **Kofi mènkesu** **asole əmə**
 Kofi **n-** à- **n-** kà- sù àsòlé á- mǎ
 Kofi **NEG** **PFV** **NEG** **PROG** go church CL the
 ‘Kofi wasn't going to the church’ (Verb_morph 50.1)

- 765) **amènkesu** **asole əmə**
 á= **n-** à- **n-** kà- sù àsòlé a- mǎ
 2SG.NOM.PST **NEG** **PFV** **NEG** **PROG** go church CL the
 ‘You weren't going to the church’

8.4.1.3.3 Future progressive negation

The negative future progressive in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /**n-**/ before the future and the progressive markers such that the future and progressive markers are closer to the verb root, as in:

- 766) **Kofi emmókaye** **kesu asi əmə**
 Kofi à- **n-** bó- kà- yé kà- sù àsì á- mǎ
 Kofi **SCR** **NEG** **FUT** **PROG** walk INF go market CL1 the
 ‘Kofi won't be walking to the market’ (Verb_morph 58.1)

- 767) **məmukesu** **asole əmə**
 mà= **n-** ó- kà- sù àsòlé á- mǎ
 1SG.NOM= **NEG** **FUT** **PROG** go church CL1 the
 ‘I won't be going to the church’ (Verb_morph 59.1)

8.4.1.4 Future negation

8.4.1.4.1 Primary future negation

The negative future in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /**n-**/ before the future marker. In this case, the future marker is closer to the verb root than the negative marker. If the clause has an NP subject, the subject cross-reference marker is marked on the verb at word-initial position.

- 768) **kutsyuə saa əmuflə kɔni lete** .
 kò- tsyúá sàà à- **n-** ó- flá kò- *nĩ lèté
 NEG some each SCR **NEG** FUT wash NCL7 arm separately
 ‘No one will wash their hands separately’ (Naming_ceremony 5.2)
- 769) **bəmutsyi lekonklo bayə lə betidi**
 bà= **n-** ó- tsyí lèkònklo bà= yé là bà- *tídi
 3PL.NOM= **NEG** FUT carry Lèkònklo 3PL.NOM= walk LOC NCL2 person
nti batsylama
 òtí bà= tsylàmà
 between 3PL.NOM= roam
 ‘They will not carry lekonklo and roam about in the mist of people’ (Buying_name 34.10)
- 770) **emufi aboko wə loo** .
 à= **n-** ó- fĩ à= bókó wə lóó
 2SG.NOM **NEG** FUT take 2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP
 ‘You will not bring it to her’ (Buying_name 58.1)

8.4.1.4.2 Prospective negation

The negative prospective in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /**n-**/ to the deictic verb **bə**. In this case, the prospective marker seems to be deleted or fused with the pronominal (see §8.1.3.2).

- 771) **wəmbə nte bofo bunə** .
 wà= **n-** bó ítè bò- fó bó- nè
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** come wine NMLZ be able NMLZ drink
 ‘She won’t be able to drink wine’ (Buying_name 49.1)
- 772) **əmbə kekuə kǎ bofo boyankli** .
 à= **n-** bó ká- *kùə kǎ bò- fó bó- yánkli
 2SG.NOM **NEG** come NCL4 rope CL4.DEF NMLZ be able NMLZ untie
 ‘You will not be able to untie the ropes’ (Punishment 10.1)

- 773) **lə aba** **dinəmi** **lonɪ** , **bəmbə**
 ló á= bá lé- *nə́mí lə- *ní bà= **n-** bó
 if 2SG.NOM.PST break NCL5 eye CL5 one 3PL.NOM= **NEG** come
fə bofo .
 fə bó- fə
 2SG.ACC NMLZ accept
 ‘If you lose one eye, they won't accept you’ (King_making 2.23)

The absence of the prospective marker is due to the fact that contraction is prominent in Sekpele. This phenomenon occurs frequently in colloquial speech where words may be contracted such that vital elements are omitted, as shown in:

- 774) **wə anto əmbofo** **buyifo** **kətsyə wə** ?
 wə ántô à- **n-** bó- fə bə- yífó kà- tsyè wə
 3SG.POSS father SCR **NEG** NMLZ be able NMLZ do INF keep 3SG.ACC
 ‘Can't his father be able to do it for him?’ (King_making 18.1)

In (774), the underlying form of *əmbəfo* is *əmbə bofo* which means ‘won't be able’. However, both the prospective and the deictic verb have been omitted to arrive at the surface form.

8.4.2 Non-standard negation

According to Dahl (2010:26), negation in constructions other than declarative clauses may deviate more or less completely from the expression of standard negation in a language. The aim of the following subsections is to account for the variations that exist in the expression of negation in these constructions from the standard negation, described in §8.4.1.

8.4.2.1 Negative imperative

The simplest way a language may negate an imperative is by adding the standard negator used in declaratives to a positive imperative (Dahl, 2010:27). In this case, a

777) **biënkesu** **asole** **əmə**
 bià = **n-** **kà-** **sù** **àsòlé** **á-** **mó**
 2PL.NOM **NEG** PROG go church CL the
 ‘(You (pl)) Don't be going to the church’

Another strategy a language may employ to negate the imperative is the use of inherent negative lexical items such as *abstain*, *stop*, *refuse* and *never* (van der Auwera, Lejeune, & Goussev, 2013; van der Auwera, 2010:88). They may be applied to ‘prospective’ imperative in order not to start the activity or a ‘retrospective’ one to stop an activity (De Clerck, 2006). In Sekpele, the verbs *yè* ‘stop’ and *nì* ‘abstain/refuse’ are used for prohibition. Both verbs are used in a periphrastic construction involving a nominalization, as in:

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- 779) **nɪ** **awu** **bokpe** **lə** **abe**
nɪ àwù bò- kpé ló à= bè
refuse clothing NMLZ wear then 2SG.NOM see
‘Refuse to wear a cloth and see what will happen to you’ (Miscellaneous 53.1)
- 780) **nɪ** **ntu** **buflə** **lə** **abe** **kase fɔɔyĩ**
nɪ ńtù bò- fló ló à= bè kàsé fò= ó- yĩ
refuse water NMLZ wash then 2SG.NOM see how 2SG.NOM= FUT smell
‘Refuse to take a bath and see how you will smell’ (Miscellaneous 54.1)

Although both verbs are used in a similar construction where they take a nominalized complement, their functions may differ slightly. The verb *yɛ* is used for direct ‘retrospective’ prohibition while the verb *nɪ* is used for indirect ‘prospective’ prohibition. The verb *nɪ* is also used as an admonitive, to urge the addressee to rather perform the intended action in order to prevent the consequence.

The use of prohibitive is not limited to verbs. The negative adverb *kóléfè* ‘never’ is used to emphasis a prohibition. It modifies a negated verb. It occurs in a different context compared to the negative verbs. It is also restricted to clause-final position, as in:

- 781) **mensu** **mfo kolefe**
n- à- **n-** sù m̀fó **kó-** léfè
NEG **PFV** **NEG** go there **NEG** time
‘Never go there’ (Adverb 71.1)
- 782) **manwã** **ntɔmbɔ** **kolefe**
n- à- **n-** wã ńtɔmbò **kó-** léfè
NEG **PFV** **NEG** cook sweet potato **NEG** time
‘Never cook sweet potato’ (Adverb 72.1)

8.4.2.2 Negative non-verbal predicate

Sentences in which the predicate is not a lexical verb but a noun, an adjective or a locative phrase often exhibit special ways of expressing negation (Dahl, 2010:27).

One form of non-verbal predication is a cleft construction. A cleft construction is a construction in which some element in a sentence is moved from its normal position into a separate clause or position to give it greater emphasis. Cleft constructions in Sèkpele include a copula *ní*, focus and relativized clauses, as in:

- 783) **osani** **bua uni**
 ò- *sànî búà ò= **ní**
 NCL1 man bad 3SG.NOM= **be**
 ‘He is a bad man’ (Adjectives 113.1)

- 784) **sidia sini**
 sìdîá se= **ní**
 lie CL11.NOM= **be**
 ‘It is a lie’ (Verbs 448.1)

- 785) **fə** **leboya** **kətə** **wə**
 fə **lè=** bó- yà kà- tá wə
 2SG.ACC **REL=** FUT buy INF give 3SG.ACC
 ‘It is you who will buy it for him’ (King_making 14.24)

In order to negate these clauses, a negative copula item is placed at clause-initial position, as in:

- 786) **unni** **osani** **bua**
 ò= **n-** ní ò- *sànî búà
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** be NCL1 man bad
 ‘He isn’t a bad man’ (Adjective 113.1)

- 787) **ənni** **sidia**
 é= **n-** ní sìdîá
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** be lie
 ‘It isn’t a lie’ (Verb 448.1)

- 788) **ənni** **fə** **leboya** **kətə** **wə**
 é= **n-** ní fə **lè=** bó- yà kà- tá wə
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** be 2SG.ACC **REL=** FUT buy INF give 3SG.ACC
 ‘It isn’t you who will buy it for him’ (King_making 14.24)

- 789) **ənni** **mə** **umə** **to** **seka** .
 é= **n-** ní **má** ó- *mà tò sé- *ká
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** be 3PL.POSS NCL3 town POSS NCL11 chief
 ‘It isn’t the chieftaincy of their town’ (History_amankrado 3.28)

When we compare (786), (787) and (789) with their affirmative counterparts in (783), (784) and (785), there seems to be some form of word order inversion in the process of arriving at the surface structure. It is also possible to retain the copula verb in its original position. This process produces a scenario of double copula when we compare (790) to (791) and (792) to (793):

- 790) **lekpome** **kəke** **mə** **te** **dini**
 lè- *kpòmé kèkè má tè lè= **ní**
 NCL5 stool small like this only CL5.NOM= **be**
 ‘It is only a small stool like this’ (King_making 2.35)

- 791) **ənni** **lekpome** **kplə** **kutsyuə** **saa** **dini**
 é= **n-** **ní** lè- *kpòmé kplê kó- tsyúá sàà lè= **ní**
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** **be** NCL5 stool big CL7 some each CL5.NOM= **be**
 ‘It isn’t any big stool’ (King_making 2.35)

- 792) **ənni** **Mate** **ni** **mə** **diye**
 é= **n-** **ní** Mate **ní** má **diyê**
 3SG.NOM= **NEG** **be** Mate **be** 3PL.POSS name
 ‘It isn’t Mate which is their name’ (History_amakrado 3.73)

- 793) **Abladi** **ni** **məmə** **diye** .
 Abladi **ní** mémá **diyê**
 Abladi **be** 3PL.POSS name
 ‘Abladi is their name’ (History_amankrado 3.74)

8.4.2.3 Negative existential

An existential clause refers to the existence or presence of something. In Sèkpèle, there are two verbs that are used to express existentiality: *kpé* ‘exist’ and *kè* ‘exist’.

These verbs are also used to express possession and location (see §9.5, §9.6 and §9.7). This is illustrated in:

- 794) **elebæ** **wə** **ənəmi** **lee** **wə**
 é= lè báð wá á- *nə́mí léé wá
 3SG.NOM= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
koto **kɛ** **lə** **oto**
 kò- *tó **kɛ** lá ótò
 NCL7 ear **exist** LOC hometown
 ‘It is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’ (King making 14.9)

- 795) ufiebi kpe lə oka əmə əsuə ku kɔnɔ
 ùfiébí kpé lɔ́ ó- *kà á- mɔ́ əsɔ́ə kú kɔ́nɔ́
 air exist LOC NCL3 tire CL3 the body with good
 ‘The tire is well inflated’ (Verbs 372.1)

- [illegible]

- 797) **bate** **tsya ake** **wə**
 bà- *tê tsyâ à- **kè** wə
 NCL2 goat too PFV **exist** 3SG.ACC
 ‘She had goats too’ (Buying name 56.6)

Although both verbs have similar functions, they differ in the formation of negation. The verb ***kpé*** has a suppletive negative form ***bɔ*** ‘not exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction, as in (798) and (799). However, the verb ***kɛ*** maintains its original form which takes the regular negative formation processes, as in (800).

- 798) **bomfo** **kesum** **kamfó** **kəmbə** **bo**
 bó = mfô kà- *súm ká- mfó kà = n- **bó** bò
 1PL.POSS = this NCL9 service NCL9 that CL9.NOM = NEG exist 1PL.ACC
mɔɔtɛɪ
 mò = ó- téyí
 1SG.NOM = FUT say
 ‘With us here that service doesn't exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)

- 799) **eyifobi** **tsya ənsi** **mbə** ... **umə** **tsya ;**
 à- yífó -bí tsyâ à- n- sí n- **bó** ó- *mà tsyâ
 NCL6 work NMLZ too PFV NEG still NEG exist NCL3 town too
umbə **lesanə** **bəə** **beyifo**
 ò = n- **bó** lèsànə bəə bà = yífó
 3SG.NOM = NEG have something 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM = do
bətə **fə** **oka** **ǝ** **lə** **ekedi**
 bà = tó fə ó- *ká ǝ ló à = kà- dí
 3PL.NOM = give 2SG.ACC NCL1 chief CL1.DEF OPT 2SG.NOM PROG eat
 ‘There are no jobs ... the town too; he doesn't have something that they should do for you the chief to be eating’ (King_making 14.2)

- 800) **leyɪmɪla** **manke** **bətsyuə** **ake**
 le- *yímí lá n- à- n- **kè** bà- tsyúó à- **kè**
 NCL5 sibling love NEG PFV NEG exist CL2 INDEF PFV exist
mə **nti** ; **bekedu** **mə**
 mé ntí bá = kà- dù mé
 3PL.POSS between 3PL.NOM.PST = PROG betray 3PL.ACC
bəkətə ... **abaa**
 bá = kà- tó àbáá
 3PL.NOM.PST = PROG give government
 ‘There wasn't fraternal love, there were some who existed among them; they used to betray them to the government’ (History_amankrado 13.2/3)

8.4.3 Negation and quantification

According to Dahl (2010:29), negation often shows up in combination with quantification. Languages differ in the ways such combination are realised, and even within one language, it may be possible to have several combinations. Surveys of

typological variation have been provided by Haspelmath (2013) and Kahrel (1996). The main aim of Haspelmath's classification is to establish whether negative indefinite pronouns such as 'nothing' and 'nobody' co-occur with the marker of standard negation in a language. According to his findings, there are some languages in which the standard negator is obligatory while in other languages, the occurrence of the standard negator with the negative indefinite pronoun will render the clause or sentence ungrammatical. A third group of languages show 'mixed behaviour' such that they have a choice between the standard negator occurring with the negative indefinite pronoun or not. Kahrel's classification also provides three types in which indefinite pronouns that co-occur with standard negator are classified: 'NEG plus indefinite', 'NEG plus special indefinite' and 'NEG plus zero quantification'. According to Kahrel, in the first type, the same indefinite pronouns are used under negation as in affirmation. In this sense, a positive indefinite pronoun co-occurs with the standard negator. In the second type, polarity-sensitive items such as the English *anybody* and *anything* are used under negation. The third type is where a standard negator is combined with 'inherently negative quantifiers'.

The aim of this section is to find out if there are any negative indefinite pronouns in Sɛkpele. If there are any, which of the above strategies does Sɛkpele employs? Sɛkpele has an indefinite root morpheme *tsyúś* just as it has a definite root morpheme *mś*. They are very productive such that, the various class markers could be attached to them to form words belonging to those classes. Examples of such words include *ùtsyúś*, *ètsyúś*, *bàtsyúś*, *kàtsyúś*, *sìtsyúś*, and *dìtsyúś* for the indefinite while *ámś*, *bámś*, *kámś*, *síámś* and *námś* for the definite. The indefinite morpheme

801) **uyifo** **lesatsyuə**
 ó = yífo lèsá tsyúś
 3SG.NOM.PST = make thing INDEF
 ‘He did something’ (Verbs 29.1)

802) **wemfi** **kolesa**
wá= **n-** **fi** **kó-** **lèsá**
3SG.NOM.PST= **NEG** take **NEG** thing
‘He didn’t take anything’ (Adverbs 69.1)

803) **kolesa** **manlo**
kó- **lèsá** **n-** **à-** **n-** **ló**
NEG thing **NEG** PFV **NEG** fall
‘Nothing fell’ (Adverbs 70.1)

Kùtsyúś also occurs in negative constructions when compared to its affirmative form *ùtsyúś*, as in:

804)	utsyuə		saa	flə	kənrɪ		okpe		...
	ò-	tsyúə	sàà	flə	kò-	*nɪ	ò =		kpé
	NCL1	INDEF	each	wash	NCL7	arm	3SG.NOM =		put
	'Everyone washes their hands in it'						(Naming ceremony 4.5)		

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- 805) **kutsyuə** **saa** **əmuflə** **kɔnɪ** **lete** .
kò- **tsyúá** **sàà** **à-** **n-** **ó-** **flá** **kò-** ***nî** **lèté**
 NEG INDEF each SCR NEG FUT wash NCL7 arm separately
 ‘No one will wash their hands separately’ (Naming_ceremony 5.2)
- 806) **kutsyuə** **manterɪ** **mə** **kolesa**
kò- **tsyúá** **n-** **à-** **n-** **téyí** **má** **kó-** **lèsá**
 NEG INDEF NEG PFV NEG say 3PL.ACC NEG thing
 ‘Nobody said anything to them’ (History_amankrado 3.61)
- 807) **kutsyuə** **mənnɪyə** **mə** **umua**
kò- **tsyúá** **n-** **à-** **n-** **nyə** **má** **ò =** **múá**
 NEG INDEF NEG PFV NEG see 3PL.ACC 3SG.NOM = catch
 ‘Nobody caught them in the act’ ((History_amankrado 3.61)

The above examples show that the negative indefinite pronouns *kùtsyúá* and *kólèsá* co-occur with the standard negation in a clause or sentence. The negative indefinite pronouns can be referred to as ‘negative concords’. What we need to find out is whether it is possible and acceptable for the negative indefinite pronoun to occur without the standard negator. Secondly, are there any possibilities that the positive indefinite pronouns could co-occur with standard negator? It is important to note that the negative indefinite pronouns are obligatorily required to co-occur with the standard negator at all times to make a clause or sentence grammatical. The positive indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, are not restricted. They can co-occur with the standard negator, as in:

- 808) **utsyuə** **mendi** **lesa**
ò- **tsyúá** **n-** **à-** **n-** **dí** **lèsá**
 NCL1 INDEF NEG PFV NEG eat food
 ‘Somebody didn't eat food’ (Verb_morph 60.1)
- 809) **utsyuə** **məmbə** **mfo**
ò- **tsyúá** **n-** **à-** **n-** **bá** **m̩fō**
 NCL1 INDEF NEG PFV NEG come here
 ‘Somebody didn't come here’ (Verb_morph 61.1)

- 810) **bətsyuə mantaka lə məmə ayo**
bà- tsyúś n- à- n- tákà lə mómá à- *yó
 NCL2 INDEF NEG PFV NEG get up LOC 3PL.POSS NCL6 house
 ‘Some people didn't get up from their house’ (Verb_morph 62.1)

Another scenario where the indefinite pronouns can co-occur with the standard negator is when they occur in coordination, comparative constructions or in reciprocal constructions with a nominal entity as in:

- 811) **bətsylama babe bəə , bebuki bua**
bá= tsylàmà bá= bə bəə bə- *bùkí búà
 3PL.NOM.PST= roam 3PL.NOM.PST= see 3PL.COMP NCL2 animal bad
ku bətsyuə əmbə
kú bə- tsyúś à- n- bə
 and NCL2 INDEF PFV NEG exist
 ‘They roamed and checked to see if there are no wild animals and others’
 (History_amankrado 3.5)

- 812) **nya se beedu mfó bəəbə Sieti**
nyá sé bá= à- dú m̀fó bá= à- bə Sieti
 then when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV leave there 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come Sieti
la , yantsyo ku bətsyuə .
lá yá= n- tsyó kú bə- tsyúś
 TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG be far with NCL2 INDEF
 ‘Then when they had left there and had come to Sieti, it wasn't far from each other’
 (History_amankrado 3.77)

- 813) **bəənya bənkə nbukubi bua ku kətsyuə**
bá= à- nyə bənkə n- *bùkùbí búà kú ka- tsyúś
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
əmbə yookpe mə bulə lə
à- n- bə yò= ó- kpé mə bə- lə lə
 PFV NEG exist 3SG.NOM= FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
kəsiəko kəmə
kà- síś -kś ká- mə
 NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
 ‘They had seen that there aren't any bad insects and others which will worry them in the dwelling place’
 (History_amankrado 3.98)

In summary, the negative indefinite pronouns obligatorily co-occur with the standard negator. The positive indefinite pronouns can also occur with the standard negator.

8.4.4 Negation and focus

Negation often behaves differently in focus constructions. In many languages, a negator may be moved from its standard position to the focus position (Dahl 2010:31). In Sekpele, elements are fronted to lay emphasis or place them in focus. In this case a subject, verb, object or an adjunct may be fronted in focus. The aim of this section is to show how negation behaves in relation to focused constituents. I will show data from scenarios involving an NP subject, pronominal subject and periphrastic constructions because they behave differently in focus as well as in relation to negation. The standard way of forming negation from affirmative clauses is to synthetically attach the negator to the verb root, as shown when we compare the pairs in (814), (815) and (816):

- 814) a) **Kofi edi lesa nəmə**
 Kofi à- dí lèsá n-ó- m-á
 Kofi PFV eat food CL5 the
 ‘Kofi ate the food’ (Verb_morph 63.1)

- b) **Kofi mendi lesa nəmə**
 Kofi n- à- n- dí lèsá n-ó- m-á
 Kofi NEG PFV NEG eat food CL5 the
 ‘Kofi didn't eat the food’ (Verb_morph 64.1)

- 815) a) **udi lesa nəmə**
 ó= dí lèsá n-ó- m-á
 3SG.NOM.PST= eat food CL5 the
 ‘He ate the food’ (Verb_morph 71.1)

- b) **wendi** **lesa nɔmɔ**
 wá= **n-** dí lèsá ná- má
 3SG.NOM.PST= **NEG** eat food CL5 the
 ‘He didn't eat the food’ (Verb_morph 72.1)

- 816) a) **Kofi le lesa nɔmɔ budi**
 Kofi lé lèsá ná- má bó- dí
 Kofi hold food CL5 the NMLZ eat
 ‘Kofi is eating the food’ (Verb_morph 79.1)

- b) **Kofi anle lesa nɔmɔ budi**
 Kofi à- **n-** lé lèsá ná- má bó- dí
 Kofi SCR **NEG** hold food CL5 the NMLZ eat
 ‘Kofi isn't eating the food’ (Verb_morph 80.1)

First of all, we will start by focusing on the subject followed by the object and the verb in that order. In the first place when any element is placed in focus, the focus element is optionally introduced by a cleft construction. The cleft construction then forms part of a relative clause depending on the constituent in focus. When the subject is in focus, it takes an optional clefted verbal element *ini*. The entire clause then forms the subject of the relative clause, introduced by the relative proclitic *lɛ=* or *nɛ=* attached to the verb. The choice of the relativizer depends on the ‘lexical aspect’ of the verb they are attached to. ‘Activity’ and ‘accomplishment’ predicates take *lɛ=* while ‘achievement’ and ‘state’ predicates take *nɛ=*. In the negation of focus constructions, it is the focus constituent which is negated. This is referred to as constituent negation (Dahl 2010:31; Sandu 1994:345). This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (817), (818) and (819):

- 817) a) **Kofi (ini) lidi lesa nɔmɔ**
 Kofi è= ní **lɛ=** dí lèsá ná- má
 Kofi 3SG.NOM= be **REL=** eat food CL5 the
 ‘It is Kofi who ate the food’ (Verb_morph 65.1)

- b) **ənni** **Kofi lidi** **lesa nəmə**
 è = **n-** ní Kofi **lè =** dí lèsá ná- má
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be Kofi **REL =** eat food CL5 the
 ‘It isn’t Kofi who ate the food’ (Verb_morph 66.1)

- 818) a) **wə** **lidi** **lesa nəmə**
 wə **lè =** dí lèsá ná- má
 3SG.ACC **REL =** eat food CL5 the
 ‘It was him who ate the food’ (Verb_morph 73.1)

- b) **ənni** **wə** **lidi** **lesa nəmə**
 è = **n-** ní wə **lè =** dí lèsá ná- má
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be 3SG.ACC **REL =** eat food CL5 the
 ‘It wasn’t him who ate the food’ (Verb_morph 74.1)

- 819) a) **Kofi nle** **lesa nəmə** **budi**
 Kofi **ñ =** lé lèsá ná- má bó- dí
 Kofi **REL =** hold food CL5 the NMLZ eat
 ‘It is Kofi who is eating the food’ (Verb_morph 81.1)

- b) **ənni** **Kofi nle** **lesa nəmə** **budi**
 è = **n-** ní Kofi **ñ =** lé lèsá ná- má bó- dí
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be Kofi **REL =** hold food CL5 the NMLZ eat
 ‘It isn’t Kofi who is eating the food’ (Verb_morph 82.1)

When the object of a clause or sentence is in focus, it is moved to the beginning of sentence. The sentence has a similar syntactic typology as described above. However, the subject of the sentence intervenes between the focused object and the verb of the sentence. Since the object is in focus, it occurs first followed by the subject and the verb in that order. In order to form the negation of the focus construction, the constituent of the object in focus is negated. This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (820), (821) and (822):

- 820) a) **lesa** **nəmə** **Kofi lidi**
 lè-sá ná- má Kofi **lè =** dí
 NCL5-food CL5 the Kofi **REL =** eat
 ‘It is the food Kofi ate’ (Verb_morph 67.1)

b) **ənni** **lesa** **nəmə** **Kofi lidi**
 è = **n-** ní lè-sá nǎ- mǎ Kofi **lè** = dí
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be NCL5-food CL5 the Kofi **REL** = eat
 ‘It isn't the food Kofi ate’ (Verb_morph 68.1)

821) a) **lesa** **nəmə** **uudi**
 lè-sá nǎ- mǎ ó = ò- dí
 NCL5-food CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = **ANT** eat
 ‘It is the food he ate/had eaten’ (Verb_morph 75.1)

b) **ənni** **lesa** **nəmə** **uudi**
 è = **n-** ní lè-sá nǎ- mǎ ó = ò- dí
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be NCL5-food CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST = **ANT** eat
 ‘It wasn't the food he ate/had eaten’ (Verb_morph 76.1)

822) a) **lesa** **nəmə** **Kofi nle** **budi**
 lè-sá nǎ- mǎ Kofi **ñ** = lé bo- dí
 NCL5-food CL5 the Kofi **REL** = hold NMLZ eat
 ‘It is the food which Kofi is eating’ (Verb_morph 83.1)

b) **ənni** **lesa** **nəmə** **Kofi nle** **budi**
 è = **n-** ní lè-sá nǎ- mǎ Kofi **ñ** = lé bo- dí
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be NCL5-food CL5 the Kofi **REL** = hold NMLZ eat
 ‘It isn't the food which Kofi is eating’ (Verb_morph 84.1)

What is interesting in the above data is the fact that the pair in (821) takes a past perfect construction instead of the usual relative clause construction. This phenomenon always occurs when subject pronominals are involved. Another interesting phenomenon is the fact that in colloquial speech, the verb is contracted such that the prefixed vowels are fused as one vowel. The resulting toneme is a falling tone. The examples in (821) can be represented as:

823) a) **lesa** **nəmə** **udi**
 lè-sá nǎ- mǎ **ò** = dí
 NCL5-food CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST.ANT = eat
 ‘It was the food he ate/had eaten’ (Verb_morph 75.1)

b) **ənni** **lesa** **nəmə** **udi**
 è = **n-** ní lè-sá nǝ- mǝ **ǝ** = dí
 3SG.NOM = **NEG** be NCL5-food CL5 the **3SG.NOM.PST.ANT** = eat
 ‘It wasn’t the food he ate/had eaten’ (Verb morph 76.1)

When the verb is in focus, a rather spectacular phenomenon occurs. The verb as it occurs is not placed at the beginning of the sentence but rather a nominalized form of the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The original verb maintains its position in the clause. The nominalized verb occurs first followed by the subject and a relative clause consisting of the verb and the object in that order. In order to form the negation of the focus construction, the constituent containing the nominalized verb in focus, is negated. This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (824), (825) and (826):

824) a) **budi** **Kofi lidi** **lesa** **nəmə**
bò- **dí** Kofi **lè=** **dí** **lè-sá** **ná-** **mó**
NMLZ **eat** Kofi **REL=** **eat** **NCL5-food** **CL5** **the**
‘It was eating Kofi did to the food’ (Verb morph 69.1)

b) **ənni** **budi** **Kofi lidi** **lesa** **nəmə**

è= **n-** ní **bò-** dí Kofi **lè=** dí **lè-sá** n- **má**

3SG.NOM= **NEG** be **NMLZ** eat Kofi **REL=** eat **NCL5-food** CL5 the

‘It wasn’t eating Kofi did to the food’ (Verb morph 70.1)

825) a)	budi	uudi		lesa	nəmə	
	bò-	dí ó =	ò-	dí lè-sá	nó-	má
	NMLZ	eat 3SG.NOM.PST =	ANT	eat NCL5-food	CL5	the
	'It was eating he did to the food'			(Verb_morph 77.1)		

b) ənni			budi		uudi			lesa
è =	n-	ní	bò-	dí	ó =	ò-	dí	lè-sá
3SG.NOM =	NEG	be	NMLZ	eat	3SG.NOM.PST =	ANT	eat	NCL5-food
nəmə								
nó-	mó							
CL5	the							
'It wasn't eating he did to the food'					(Verb morph 70.1)			

826) a) **budi** **Kofi nle** **lesa** **nəmə**
bò- **dí** Kofi **ḡ=** lé lè-sá ná- má
NMLZ **eat** Kofi **REL=** hold NCL5-food CL5 the
‘It is eating Kofi is doing to the food’ (Verb_morph 85.1)

b) **ənni** **budi** **Kofi nle** **lesa** **nəmə**
è= **n-** ní **bò-** **dí** Kofi **ḡ=** lé lè-sá ná- má
3SG.NOM= **NEG** be **NMLZ** **eat** Kofi **REL=** hold NCL5-food CL5 the
‘It isn't eating that Kofi is doing to the food’ (Verb_morph 86.1)

The pairs in examples (824) and (825) show a scenario where the verb is in focus and the regular inflected form is maintained in its original position. However, the pair in example (826) only involves the focused verb. This is probably due to the fact that it is the semantic verb and not the syntactic verb. The verb in focus is already nominalized and behaves as a nominal just like the subject or object. The syntactic verb *le* can possibly be focused by nominalizing it and placing it at the beginning of the sentence as demonstrated before. However, its use is quite rare. We need to note that adjuncts are also focused and negated the same way as subjects and objects. In terms of order, the adjunct occurs first followed by the subject and a relative clause consisting of the verb and the object.

8.5 Summary

This chapter discussed tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverb. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs.

Section 8.1 discussed tense and aspect in Sekpele. Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low

tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are *à-* and *á-* respectively. The imperfective morpheme *á-* is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs *bś* ‘come’ and *sù* ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are *(b)ò-* and *(b)ó-* respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Section 8.1.1 discussed the past, perfective and the anterior. In Sekpele, both past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. Past tense is indicated by a high tone on the subject pronominal. A past subject pronoun is attached to the verb stem alone or combines with the perfective morpheme to form a past perfect construction. Since NP subjects do not require subject pronominals to be attached to the verb, only the perfective morpheme is attached to the verb. Anterior refers to the phenomenon which is referred to as ‘perfect’ in most linguistic literature. I have chosen to use ‘anterior’ in this work to minimise the confusion between the use of ‘perfect’ and ‘perfective’. Section 8.1.2 discussed imperfective aspects which include the progressive and the habitual. Section 8.1.3 discussed the two kinds of the future: the primary future and the prospective.

Section 8.2 discussed the phasal aspects in Sekpele which include the ingressive/inceptive; progressive/continuative; egressive/completive; and the cessative/terminative. Section 8.3 discussed mood and modality in Sekpele. Topics

discussed include agent-oriented modality; speaker-oriented modality; epistemic modality; and subordination. These mood and modalities are represented lexically especially by verbs. Section 8.4 discussed negation in Sekpele and the topics treated include the standard negation; non-standard negation; negation and quantification; and negation and focus. In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may assume a double negation based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON especially the second person. The verb *kpe* has a suppletive negative form *be* ‘exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction.

9 CLAUSE STRUCTURE AND TYPES

This chapter discusses the basic structure of a simple clause in Sekpele. I will look at the order of constituents in the basic clause and the grammatical relations arguments hold with their predicate. I will also discuss other types of clauses which include predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and the predicative possessive construction.

9.1 Basic clause structure and grammatical relation

The basic clause in a language is a simple declarative clause which has a verb as its predicate. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it: thus Sekpele is an SVO language. The number of elements that can be represented in a clause depends on whether the clause is a one-place, two-place or a three place construction and may also have one or more adjuncts. A one-place construction consists of a verbal word and a nominal argument subject. The verbal word is made up of a verb and its affixed component while the nominal subject is an NP (a noun, an independent pronoun or a demonstrative). In cases where the verbal word has a prefixed pronoun as a subject, then it stands alone in a one-place construction. A two-place construction consists of a verbal word and a nominal argument as its object or verb which has two nominal arguments as its subject and object. Finally, a three-place construction has a verb and three NP arguments. All constructions can have one or more optional adjuncts consisting of locatives, adverbials, and adpositional phrases. These optional adjuncts may occur

either in clause-initial or clause-final positions. Table 9.1 shows the basic constituent order of a clause and the positions filled by the arguments of the verb:

Adjuncts	Subject	Verb	Object 1	Object 2	Adjuncts
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Table 9.1: Constituent order of a clause

The following are examples of each type of clause. For further discussion of verbs and their argument structures, see §7.2.

- 827) **sinə siəmə ebu**
 sé- *nə sí- mó à- bú
 NCL11 meat CL11 the PFV become rotten
 ‘The meat is rotten’ (Verbs 287.1)
- 828) **ebia**
 é= biá
 3SG.NOM.PST= be spoil
 ‘It is bad’ (Verbs 288.1)
- 829) **ibu**
 é= bú
 3SG.NOM.PST= become rotten
 ‘It is rotten’ (Verbs 289.1)
- 830) **osani əmə ammi kofa**
 ò- *sànî á- mó á- mínì kò- *fà
 NCL1 man CL1 the HAB swallow NCL7 medicine
 ‘The man swallows medicine’ (Verb 22.1)
- 831) **wəyimi kamo**
 wò= ó- yimi kàmó
 3SG.NOM= FUT chew rice
 ‘He will eat rice’ (Verb 9.1)
- 832) **Onanto ate mə asa əmfó .**
 ònántó à- té mó à- *sá á- mfó
 Almighty God PFV show 3PL.ACC CL6 thing CL6 that
 ‘God has revealed those things to them’ (Punishment 1.10)

833)	waatsyese		oka		əmə		ətəsa	
	wà =	á-	tsyésé	ó-	*ká	á-	má à-	*təsá
	3SG.NOM =	HAB	send	NCL1	chief	CL1	the	NCL6 gift
	'He sends the chief gifts'				(Verbs 454.1)			

Examples 827, 828, and 829 are one-place constructions in which the verb takes one argument that functions as the subject. In (827), the noun phrase *sínə síámə* 'the meat' functions as the subject of the clause. However in (828) and (829), the clause is represented as a verbal word which has a prefixed pronoun as its subject. Examples 830 and 831 are two place constructions in which the verb takes two arguments: one as the subject and the other as the object. Example 830 has a noun phrase as the subject while (831) has a prefixed pronoun on the verb as its subject. Examples 832 and 833 are three-place constructions. In (832), the clause has three arguments: *Onanto* 'God' is the subject and it precedes the verb *àté* 'PFV.show'. There are two NPs, *mə* '3PL.ACC' and *àsá əmfó* 'those things' which function as objects and occur in postverbal position. Example 833 has a pronoun prefixed to the verb as its subject and has two NPs (*óká əmə* and *ətəsá*) as its object in postverbal position. In both (832) and (833), the two objects play the role of a goal and a theme respectively. In Sekpele, the order of the goal and the theme is restricted and cannot be switched. However, if one would like to place prominence on the theme, by switching the position of the goal and the theme, an alternative would be to employ a serial verb construction. The composition of the serial verb construction is characterised by the introduction of verbs like *fí* 'take' and *lókə* 'remove', preceding the theme. The introduced verb takes the theme as its complement while the original verb takes the goal as its complement (see also §10.1.1). In this case, examples 832 and 833 would be reconstructed as (834) and (835):

- Examples 834 and 835 can be seen as a series of two statements. The two statements in (834) go like this: the subject, ‘God removed those things; he showed them those things’. The prefix on the second verb is co-referential to the subject of the first. We also observe the theme leaving a gap in its original position. However, in example (835), the second verb is introduced by the infinitive marker *ka-* which goes to show the progression of the action performed by the subject.

A predicate nominal clause is a clause in which the main semantic content of predication is embodied in a noun phrase. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation (Payne, 1997:114). Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to belong to the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. The subject of a predicate nominal clause indicating proper inclusion is usually specific while the nominal predicate is non-specific. Equative clauses on the other hand, are those which assert that a particular entity is identical

to the entity specified in the predicate nominal. Both the subject and the nominal predicate in an equative clause are specific, and therefore it is sometimes difficult to tell which nominal is the subject and which is the predicate. Languages have various strategies for expressing proper inclusion and equation. These strategies include: (1) NP NP juxtaposition and (2) copula constructions of various forms. A language may employ one or a combination of these strategies. The aim of this section is to explore the strategies that Sekpele uses in the expression of proper inclusion and equation.

Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. There is a copula verb *ní* ‘be’ which is used for present reference.

- 836) **ntu** **buã** **ditu** **buni**
 ní- *tù buã lè= tú bò= ní
 NCL10 water CL10.DEF REL= be boil CL10.NOM= be
 ‘It is boiled water’ (Verb 127.1)

- 837) **eso** **lekpome** **keke** **mə** **te** **dini** .
 ésò lè- *kpòmé kèkè mó tè lè= ní
 therefore NCL5 stool small like this only CL5.NOM= be
 ‘Therefore it is just a small stool like this.’ (King_making 2.38)

Proper inclusion is of this kind and it is restricted to this word order where the reference precedes the verbal word. The verbal word consists of the copula *ní* and subject pronominal which is co-referential to the reference NP. One can say that the reference NP is in focus and that is why it is placed in clause initial position. The order cannot be switched. The order is the same when two NPs occur in the clause, both NPs precede the copula. The subject of the clause is placed in the periphery,

while the NP predicate is closer to the copula. The copula is also marked with a pronoun referring to the NP predicate.

- 838) **Kofi** , **osani** **see** **uni**
 Kofi ò- *sàñî sée ò= ní
 Kofi NCL1 man good 3SG.NOM= be
 ‘Kofi is a good man’ (Miscellaneous 55.1)
- 839) **nnuə** **tsya** **sekpele** **sini** ?
 nnuə tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé sè= ní
 palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.NOM= be
 ‘Is 'nnuə' too a Sekpele word?’ (Soap making 23.2)

It is interesting to note that, the fact that the subject is placed in the periphery suggests that it can be omitted from the clause. This presupposes that the NP predicate is an important component of the copula clause since it has a co-referential element attached to the copula. Examples 838 and 839 can be represented as (840) and (841):

- [illegible]

Equation in S  kpele on the other hand, is versatile in terms of its word order. The copula is normally placed between the NPs. Since the NPs share a common identity, their position can be switched. This is illustrated in (842) and (843):

- 842) a) **Abladi ni mēmə diye** .
 Abladi **ní** mémə diyê
 Abladi **be** 3PL.POSS name
 ‘Abladi is their name’ (History amankrado 3.74)

- b) **məmə** **diye** **ni** **Abladi** .
 mómó dīyê ní Abladi
 3PL.POSS name **be** Abladi
 Their name is Abladi.

- 843) a) **məmə** **ole** **ni** **wǎ** **leblobe** **nə** .
 mómó ó- *lè ní wǎ lè = blóbè nǎ
 3PL.POSS NCL1 own **be** 3SG.REL REL = wither really
 ‘Theirs is that which had withered really.’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

- b) **wǎ** **leblobe** **ni** **məmə** **ole** **nə** .
 wǎ lè = blóbè ní mómó ó- *lè nǎ
 3SG.REL REL = wither **be** 3PL.POSS NCL1 own really
 ‘That which had withered is theirs really.’

Equation in Sekpele is versatile in that the copula can occur at clause final position just like a proper inclusion clause. However each word ordering pattern has its own interpretation within the context it is made. Example 844 shows the versatility of equative clauses in Sekpele:

- 844) a) **Kofi** **ni** **mə** **anto**
 Kofi ní mǎ = ántô
 Kofi **be** 1SG.POSS = father
 ‘Kofi is my father’ (Miscellaneous 56.1)

- b) **mə** **anto** **ni** **Kofi**
 mǎ = ántô ní Kofi
 1SG.POSS = father **be** Kofi
 ‘My father is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 57.1)

- c) **Kofi** , **mə** **anto** **uni**
 Kofi mǎ = ántô ò = ní
 Kofi 1SG.POSS = father 3SG.NOM = **be**
 ‘Kofi, he is my father’ (Miscellaneous 58.1)

- d) **mɔ** **anto** , **Kofi uni**
 mɔ = ántô Kofi ò = ní
 1SG.POSS = father Kofi 3SG.NOM = be
 ‘My father, he is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 59.1)

- e) **mɔ** **anto uni**
 mɔ = ántô ò = ní
 1SG.POSS = father 3SG.NOM = be
 ‘He is my father’ (Miscellaneous 60.1)

- f) **Kofi uni**
 Kofi ò = ní
 Kofi 3SG.NOM = be
 ‘He is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 61.1)

The interpretation that can be given to (844a) is that, a particular person called Kofi is my father. (844b) can be interpreted as my father is the particular person called Kofi. (844c) is ambiguous between an address to a person called Kofi that an entity in contention is my father and Kofi is my father. (844d) is the reversal which is also ambiguous between an address to my father that, an entity in contention is Kofi and my father is Kofi. In (844e) and (844f), the peripheral elements have been omitted. The interpretations for (844e) and (844f) are reflected in their glosses respectively. Both can be used as a response to the question ‘who is he’. This is totally different from the response to the question ‘who is it’ in (845). In (845) the anaphoric pronoun is omitted which presupposes that the copula is underlyingly *ini*.

- 845) a) **mɔ** **anto ni (ini**)
 mɔ = ántô ní è = ní
 1SG.POSS = father be 3SG.NOM = be
 ‘It is my father’

- b) **Kofi ni (ini**)
 Kofi ní è = ní
 Kofi be 3SG.NOM = be
 ‘It is Kofi’

9.3 Predicate adjectives (attributive clauses)

A predicate adjective clause is one in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. Adjectives play three syntactic roles that distinguish them as a major word class like nouns and verbs. They can function as a predicate in a clause, modifiers in NPs and as the parameter of comparison. When they occur as predicates, they are coded as either intransitive predicates or copula complements. When they occur in NPs, they either occur in direct apposition to the noun they modify or undergo a process of relativization. Distinguishing adjectives from other word classes differs from language to language. In some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, others to verbs, others to both nouns and verbs, and others to neither (Dixon 2004). Adjectives which have grammatical properties similar to nouns are noun-like adjectives while those similar to verbs are verb-like adjectives. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. A wordlist of adjectives is provided in appendix 3.

9.3.1 Verb-like Adjectives

Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. This is illustrated in:

850) **ɔpunu** **əmə** **amə**
 ò- *pùnú á- mǎ à- mǎ
 NCL3 table CL3 the **PFV** **become big**
 ‘The table is big’ (Adjectives 30.1)

- 851) **osani** **əmə** **ekulə**
 ò- *sànî á- mǎ à- kúlǎ
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV become tall
 ‘The man is tall’ (Adjectives 21.1)

- 852) **osani** **əmə** **aleke**
 ò- *sànî á- mǎ à- lékè
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV be good
 ‘The man is good’ (Adjectives 101.1)

Verb-like adjectives do not directly modify a noun in an NP. They modify the noun by relativization, as in:

- 853) **ɔpunu** **ǎ** **lemə** **əmə**
 ò- *pùnú ǎ lè = mǎ a- mǎ
 NCL3 table CL3.REL.PRO REL = become big CL3 the
 ‘The table which is big’ (Adjectives 32.1)

- 854) **ola** **kuyi** **kuǎ** **dikulə**
 ó = là kò- *yî kuǎ lè = kúlǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = cut NCL7 tree CL7.REL.PRO REL = become tall
 ‘He cut a tree which is tall’ (Adjectives 18.1)

- 855) **ɔle** **lesanə** **lemanleke** **buyifo**
 ò = lé lèsánǎ lè = n- à- n- lékè bǒ- yífó
 3SG.NOM = hold something REL = NEG PFV NEG be good NMLZ do
 ‘He is doing something which isn’t good’ (King_making 12.1)

It is important to note that verb-like adjectives do not occur as copula complements.

9.3.2 Noun-like Adjectives

Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. One characteristic that distinguishes the noun-like adjectives from nouns is the fact that they do not take determiners such as the definite article. Unlike verb-

like adjectives, they occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb *kpe* in predicate position. This is illustrated in:

- 856) **diyibibi nəmə kpe ale**
 lè- yìbíbí nǎ- mǎ kpé àlé
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the have **hard**
 ‘The fruit is hard’ (Adjectives 72.1)
- 857) **bitsyikə biəmə kpe kalende**
 bì-tsyíkǎ bíǎ- mǎ kpé kǎlèndé
 NCL12-load CL12 the have **heavy**
 ‘The package is heavy’ (Adjectives 1.1)
- 858) **diyibibi nəmə kpe kalo**
 lè- yìbíbí nǎ- mǎ kpé kǎlò
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the have **bitter**
 ‘The fruit is bitter’ (Adjectives 84.1)

Noun-like adjectives like verb-like ones do not directly modify the head noun in an NP. They modify the noun by relativization, as in:

- 859) **ubuki ǎ nkpe ale eedi lesa**
 ò- *bùkí ǎ ñ = kpé àlé à- á- dí lè- *sá
 NCL1 animal CL1.REL.PRO REL = have **hard** SCR HAB eat NCL5 thing
ku kǎnǎ
kú kǎnǎ
 with **good**
 ‘The animal which is healthy eats well’ (Verbs 354.1)
- 860) **utsyi bitsyikə biǎ nkpe kalende**
 ò = tsyí bì-tsyíkǎ biǎ ñ = kpé kǎlèndé
 3SG.NOM = carry NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL = have **heavy**
 ‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)
- 861) **udi diyibibi nǎ nkpe kalo**
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbí nǎ ñ = kpé kǎlò
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL = have **bitter**
 ‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’ (Adjectives 85.1)

9.3.3 Ideophonic Adjectives

Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. Ideophones are a distinct class of words used for vivid representation of ideas in sound, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity (Crystal, 1997:189; Doke, 1935:118; Trask, 1993:131). Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery (Dingemanse, 2011:25). Indeed, in many other languages of Africa and other parts of the world, ideophones are often treated as belonging to a separate word class (Bodomo, 2006:204). In Sekpele, ideophones belong to a broad class of words which include adjectives and adverbs. They are distinct from nouns in the sense that they do not take noun class marker. They are also distinct from verbs because they do not take any affixes associated with verbs. Their sensory imagery can only be depicted emotionally through speech. They play a vital role within an NP as well as within a clause, functioning as modifiers and as copula complements respectively. In NPs, they occur in direct apposition to the head noun or occur as relativized copula complement. This is illustrated as in (863) and (864). Example 863 shows the adjective occurring in direct apposition to the noun while (864) shows the adjective occurring as the copula complement in a relative clause:

862) **uku** **dibiə** **tenkle** **dit syuə**
 ó = kù lè- *bíə **ténklé** lé- tsyúó
 3SG.NOM.PST = dig NCL5 hole **shallow** CL5 some
 ‘He dug a shallow hole’ (Adjectives 98.1)

863) **ola** **kuyi** **ketsyenkle komə**
 ó = là kò- *yí **kètsènkè** kó- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST = cut NCL7 tree **tall** CL7 the
 ‘He cut the tall tree’ (Adjectives 19.1)

- 864) **ola** **kuyi** **kuǎ** **diyifo** **ketsyenkle**
 ó = là kò- *yî kuǎ lè = yífo **kètsèṅklè**
 3SG.NOM.PST = cut NCL7 tree CL7.REL.PRO REL = do **tall**
 ‘He cut the tree which is tall’ (Adjectives 20.1)

In predicate position, they occur as copula complements to the ‘do-verb’ *yífo* and the positional verb *tə*. This is illustrated as in:

- 865) **kuyi** **komə** **eyifo** **kitikpo**
 kò- *yî kó- mó à- yífo **kítíkpo**
 NCL7 tree CL7 the PFV do **short**
 ‘The tree is short’ (Adjectives 24.1)

- 866) **bitsyikə** **biəmə** **eyifo** **fomflo**
 bì-tsyíkə bíá- mó à- yífo **fómfló**
 NCL12-load CL12 the PFV do **light**
 ‘The package is light’ (Adjectives 4.1)

- 867) **lewākplibi** **nəmə** **tə** **fufu**
 lé- wǎ *kplíbí ná- mó tá **fúfú**
 NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the be.at **empty**
 ‘The cooking pot is empty’ (Miscellaneous 14.1)

- 868) **itə** **bekebeke**
 è = tá **békébéké**
 3SG.NOM = be.at **thin**
 ‘It is thin’ (Adjectives 60.1)

There are some adjectives that can co-occur with both verbs interchangeably. Most adjectives that do occur as copula complements take either of the verbs. Examples 869 and 870 show adjectives that can occur with both verbs:

- 869) a) **dibiə** **nəmə** **tə** **tənkle**
 lè- *bíə ná- mó tá **téṅklé**
 NCL5 hole CL5 the be.at **shallow**
 ‘The hole is shallow’ (Adjectives 96.1)

- b) **dibiə** **nəmə** **eyifo** **tenkle**
 lè- *bîð ná- mǎ à- yífo **tɛŋklé**
 NCL5 hole CL5 the PFV do **shallow**
 ‘The hole is shallow’ (Adjectives 97.1)

- 870) a) **kukuə** **komə** **tə** **kwankwǎ**
 kò- *kùǎ kó- mǎ tǎ **kwǎŋkwǎ**
 NCL7 book CL7 the be.at **green**
 ‘The book is green’ (Adjectives 12.1)

- b) **kukuə** **komə** **eyifo** **kwankwǎ**
 kò- *kùǎ kó- mǎ à- yífo **kwǎŋkwǎ**
 NCL7 book CL7 the PFV do **green**
 ‘The book is green’ (Adjectives 13.1)

It seems that the positional verb **tə** is used for expressing permanent or perpetual states while the do-verb **yífo** is used for transient states. Ideophonic adjectives can also function as adverbs modifying verbs, as in:

- 871) **ɔle** **etsyi bembe**
 ò = lɛ ètsyí **bémbé**
 3SG.NOM = hold race **hard**
 ‘He is running fast’ (Verbs 51.1)

- 872) **udi** **kpə**
 ó = dí **kpə**
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat **many**
 ‘He ate a lot’ (Adjectives 41.1)

Ideophones can be reduplicated and when they do, they have the semantic effect of intensification of the quality. This is illustrated in:

- 873) **udi** **kpəŋkpə**
 ó = dí **kpəŋkpə**
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat **very many**
 ‘He ate too much’ (Adjectives 42.1)

- 874) **bate** **kpə** **kpe** **wə**
 bà- *tê **kpà** kpé wà
 NCL2 goat **many** exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 38.1)

- 875) **bate** **kpəŋkpə** **kpe** **wə**
 bà- *tê **kpəŋkpá** kpé wà
 NCL2 goat **very many** exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘He has very many goats’ (Adjectives 39.1)

Ideophonic adjectives can modify verb-like adjectives with a similar semantic meaning. This process is used to intensify or exaggerate the quality or property of the NP subject. They mostly apply to dimension terms, as in:

- 876) **osani** **əmə** **amə** **kpetekpetə**
 ò- *sàŋí á- mɔ́ à- mɔ́ **kpétékpété**
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV **become big big**
 ‘The man is extremely huge’ (Adjectives 115.1)

- 877) **diyibibi** **nəmə** **afə** **kemmɪ**
 lè- yìbíbí nó- mɔ́ à- fɛ **kémíní**
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the PFV **become small small**
 ‘The fruit is very small’ (Adjectives 116.1)

- 878) **kuyi** **komə** **ekulə** **ketsyenkle**
 kò- *yî kó- mɔ́ à- kúlɔ́ **kètsɛŋklɛ**
 NCL7 tree CL7 the PFV **become tall tall**
 ‘The tree is extremely tall’ (Adjectives 117.1)

9.3.4 Derived adjectives

Some adjectives can be derived from verb-like and Ideophonic adjectives. There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives can be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix.

9.3.4.1 Reduplication of verb-like adjectives

One process by which adjectives could be derived is by reduplication of verb-like adjectives. Adjectives of this kind are mostly used for attributive purposes. Thus, their function is restricted to noun modification in the NP and cannot be used for predication. This is illustrated in:

- 879) a) **diyibibi** **nəmə** **əyuə**
 lè- yìbíbí ná- mǎ à- yúà
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the PFV **become soft**
 ‘The fruit is soft’ (Adjectives 75.1)
- b) **udi** **diyibibi** **yuəyuə nəmə**
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbí **yúàyúà** ná- mǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit **soft** CL5 the
 ‘He ate the soft fruit’ (Adjectives 77.1)

- 880) a) **dibiə** **nəmə** **atsyo**
 lè- *bíà ná- mǎ à- tsyó
 NCL5 hole CL5 the PFV **be deep**
 ‘The hole is deep’ (Adjectives 92.1)
- b) **uku** **dibiə** **tsyontsyo ditsyuə**
 ó = kù lè- *bíà **tsyóntsyó** lé- tsyúá
 3SG.NOM.PST = dig NCL5 hole **deep** CL5 some
 ‘He dug a deep hole’ (Adjectives 94.1)

9.3.4.2 Derived noun-like adjectives

Adjectives can also be derived by prefixing the noun class marker of the head noun in the subject NP to the ideophonic adjective in the predicate constituent. The marking on the adjective is co-referential and shows the association of the property to the noun. The adjective is not marked when it occurs within the NP. This is because the adjective is compounded to the head noun forming a prosodic word. This derivational process mostly applies to dimension and age terms in Sekpele. The

derived adjectives occur as copula complement to the do-verb *yífo*. This is illustrated when we compare the pairs in (881), (882) and (883):

- 881) a) **ɔpɔnu kplɛ ɔmɔ**
 ò- *pònú **kplɛ** á- mó
 NCL3 table **big** CL3 the
 ‘The big table’ (Adjectives 31.1)
- b) **ɔpɔnu ɔmɔ eyifo ɔkplɛ**
 ò- *pònú á- mó à- yífo ò- **kplɛ**
 NCL3 table CL3 the PFV do NCL3 **big**
 ‘The table is big’ (Adjectives 118.1)
- 882) a) **eso lekpome keke mɔ te dini**
 ésò lè- *kpòmɛ **kɛkɛ** mó tè lè= ní
 therefore NCL5 stool **small** like this only CL5.NOM= be
 ‘Therefore it is just a small stool like this’ (King_making 2.38)
- b) **lekpome nɔmɔ eyifo lekeke**
 lè- *kpòmɛ nɔ- mó à- yífo lè- **kɛkɛ**
 NCL5 stool CL5 the PFV do NCL5 **small**
 ‘The stool is small’ (Adjectives 119.1)
- 883) a) **kafia fɔfɔ ahia wɔ**
 kàfiá **fɔfɔ** à- hiá wà
 cloth **new** PFV need 3SG.ACC
 ‘She needs a new cloth’ (Verbs 468.1)
- b) **kafia kɔmɔ eyifo kafɔfɔ**
 kà- *fiá ká- mó à- yífo kà- **fɔfɔ**
 NCL9 cloth CL9 the PFV do NCL9 **new**
 ‘The cloth is new’ (Adjectives 120.1)

Noun-like adjectives can also be derived from ideophonic adjectives by attaching the noun marker *ka-*. This process is unique and only applies to the physical property ‘sweet’. The derived adjective does not occur with the do-verb *yífo* and the be-verb

tɛ, but occurs as copula complement to the existential or possessive verb *kpé*. This is illustrated when we compare (884) and (885) to (886):

884) **udi** **diyibibi** **mɛmɛmɛmɛ nɛmɛ**
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbí **mínímíní** ná- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit **sweet** CL5 the
 ‘He ate the sweet fruit’ (Adjectives 81.1)

885) **diyifo** **mɛmɛmɛmɛ**
 lè = yífó **mínímíní**
 CL5.NOM = do **sweet**
 ‘It is sweet’ (Adjectives 83.1)

886) **diyibibi** **nɛmɛ** **kpe kamɛ**
 lè- yìbíbí ná- mó kpé **kámíní**
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the have **sweet**
 ‘The fruit is sweet’ (Adjectives 79.1)

9.3.4.3 Derivation by adjectival suffix

Another process by which adjectives can be derived is by attaching the adjectival suffix *-a* to verb-like adjectives. This process applies mostly to colour and some value terms. This is illustrated when we compare the pairs in (887) and (888):

887) a) **kukuə** **komə** **eflubi**
 kò- *kùə kó- mó à- flúbì
 NCL7 book CL7 the PFV become white
 ‘The book is white’ (Adjectives 8.1)

b) **kukuə** **flubia** **komə** **təkə** **lə** **ɔpunu**
 kò- *kùə **flúbì** -à kó- mó təkə lə ò- *pònú
 NCL7 book become white ADJV CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table
əmə **əsua**
 á- mó əsúə
 CL3 the top of
 ‘The white book is on the table’ (Adjectives 7.1)

- 888) a) **kukuə** **komə** **ana**
 kò- *kùá kó- mǎ à- ná
 NCL7 book CL7 the PFV **become black**
 ‘The book is black’ (Adjectives 10.1)
- b) **kukuə** **naa** **komə** **təkə** **lə** **əpunu**
 kò- *kùá **ná** -à kó- mǎ táká lá ò- *pùnú
 NCL7 book **become black** **ADJV** CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table
əmə **əsuə**
 á- mǎ əsúə
 CL3 the top of
 ‘The black book is on the table’ (Adjectives 9.1)

Although derived adjectives of this kind are restricted to attributive function, they can undergo a further process to function in predicate position. The noun class marker of the head noun in the subject NP is prefixed to the stem. The derived adjective occurs as copula complement to the do-verb *yífo*, as in:

- 889) **kukuə** **komə** **eyifo** **konaa**
 kò- *kùá kó- mǎ à- yífo kò- ná -à
 NCL7 book CL7 the PFV do NCL7 **become black** **ADJV**
 ‘The book is black’ (Adjectives 121.1)
- 890) **kafia** **kəmə** **eyifo** **keflubia**
 kà- *fiá ká- mǎ à- yífo kà- flúbì -à
 NCL9 cloth CL9 the PFV do NCL9 **become white** **ADJV**
 ‘The cloth is white’ (Adjectives 122.1)

9.3.5 Syntactic possibilities of adjectives

Following from the previous sections, it is obvious that some adjective classes are flexible while others are limited in terms of their syntactic representation. Verb-like adjectives do occur as intransitive predicates whereas all other adjectives occur as copula complements. Within the NP, ideophonic adjectives and adjectives derived from verb-like adjectives can directly modify the head noun. However, noun-like

and verb-like adjectives can only modify the head noun by undergoing the process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives are the most versatile such that, apart from modifying nouns and functioning as copula complement, they do function as adverbs modifying verbs and verb-like adjectives - a characteristic that all other adjectives lack. All adjectives function as parameters of comparison. Table 9.2 provides a summary of the various possibilities available to the various adjective classes:

Role	Verb-like adjectives	Noun-like adjectives	Ideophonic adjectives	Derived adjectives
Direct modification of nouns	-	-	✓	Verb derived
Modification by relativization	✓	✓	✓	✓
Intransitive predication	✓	-	-	-
Copula complement	-	✓	✓	✓
Function as adverb	-	-	✓	-
Make up a whole NP	-	✓	-	✓
Parameter of comparison	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 9.2: Syntactic possibilities of adjectives

9.4 Presentational constructions

A presentational construction is a deictic construction used to present a proposition or an idea. In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle '*nɔ*', placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *nɔ* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase just as a demonstrative does. On the other hand, it lays emphases on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position, as in:

- 891) **dadese ... dikplibi nə**
 dàdèsé lè- *kplíbí **nó**
 steel pot NCL5 cooking pot **really**
 ‘That is steel pot ... pot’ (Palm_kernel_oil 4.9)
- 892) **diye to kafia nə** .
 diyê tò kà- *fiá **nó**
 name POSS NCL9 cloth **really**
 ‘The name's cloth really’ (Buying_name 40.4)
- 893) **nko beeyifo nnuəbi nə**
 níkò bá= á- yífó ñ- *nuəbí **nó**
 like that 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB make NCL10 oil **really**
 ‘That is how oil is made’ (Palm_kernel_oil 8.1)
- 894) **nya eso kuyu lebo mómó nə**
 nyá ésô kúyù lè= bò mòmó **nó**
 therefore theft REL= become widespread now **really**
 ‘That is why stealing is really rampant now’ (Punishment 16.3)

9.5 Existential constructions

Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specific location. An existential construction in Sèkpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two form of the locative/existential verb: **kpé** ‘be.at, exist’ and **kè** ‘be.at:NPRES’. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence, as in:

- 895) **lə keni kətsyuə kpe lə bebe biəmə əsuə la** ,
 lə kà- *ní ká- tsyúá **kpé** lə bè- *bé bíá- mǎ əsúà lá
 if NCL4 dirt CL4 some **exist** LOC NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the body TOP
əbɔfle ələkə .
 à= bó- flé à= lókà
 2SG.NOM FUT sift 2SG.NOM remove
 ‘If there is any dirt in the palm kernels, you will sift it out’ (Palm_kernel_oil 2.6)

- 896) **nya eso lə okpe lə lelensi kola tsya la** ,
 nyá éso lǎ ò = **kpé** lǎ lélènsì kólá tsyâ lá
 therefore if 3SG.NOM = exist LOC abroad even too TOP
elebæə wə ɛnəmi lee wə
 é = lè báà wá á- *nè mí léé wá
 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
koto kɛ lə oto .
 kò- *tó **kè** lǎ ótò
 NCL7 ear **exist** LOC hometown
 ‘Therefore if he is even abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’
 (King_making 14.9)

- 897) **kale to uninə kakã ke iyifo kale la** ,
 kálè tò ó- *nìnǎ kàkǎ ké è = yífó kálè lá
 clan POSS NCL1 elder place any 3SG.NOM = do clan TOP
elebæə kale to uninə
 é = lè báà kálè tò ó- *nìnǎ
 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP clan POSS NCL1 elder
ebòke .
 à- bó- **kè**
SCR FUT exist
 ‘Elder of a clan anywhere which is a clan, it is necessary an elder of a clan will exist’
 (History_amankrado 11.5)

Sekpele has a unique negative existential verb **bá** that is a suppletive form of the present existential **kpé**. The negative existential verb co-occurs with the standard negative marker in Sekpele. However, the non-present existential **kè** does not change its form in the negative. This is illustrated in:

- 898) **atabi əmbə buuyifo abo lee ?**
 àtábí à- n- **bá** bə = ó- yífó á- *bô léé
 money PFV NEG **exist** 3PL.NOM = FUT make NCL6 wine pot or
 ‘Is there no money for them to make wine pots?’ (Pottery 207.1)
- 899) **usio saa əmbə wə lə diyo** .
 ò- *sió sàà à- n- **bá** wə lǎ dìyó
 NCL1 woman each PFV NEG **exist** 3SG.ACC LOC house
 ‘No woman is in his house’ (Pottery 299.2)

- 900) **bomfo** **imbə** **bo** **mfo** ;
 bó= m̄fō è= n- b́ b̀ m̄fō
 1PL.POSS= here 3SG.NOM= NEG exist 1PL.ACC here
buenyifo **nya** **kakle** .
 b̀= á- n- yífó nyá ká- *klè
 1PL.NOM= HAB NEG do 3SG.POSS NCL9 kind
 ‘Us here it doesn’t exist; we don’t do such kind of thing’ (King_making 2.37)

- 901) **leyimila** **manke** .
 lè- *yímí lá n- à- n- kè
 NCL5 sibling love NEG PFV NEG exist
 ‘There was no fraternal love’ (History_amankrado 1.8)

Existential constructions can be intransitive. In most cases, the subject NP is indefinite, as in:

- 902) **bəfənəfənə kpe loo** .
 b̀fənəfənə ḱpé lóó
 itchy leaves exist UFP
 ‘There are itchy leaves’ (Punishment 5.1)
- 903) **leleye** **bəətə** **leleyi** **nini** **kpe** .
 lè- *lèyê bá= á- tá lè- *lèyì níní ḱpé
 NCL5 birth-name 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB give NCL5 birthday CL5.PN exist
 ‘The birth-name that is given in relation to birthday exists’ (Naming_ceremony 30.1)
- 904) **bakoko** **əke** .
 bà- *kòkó é= kè
 NCL2 ancient 3SG.NOM.PST= exist
 ‘In the past, it existed’ (King_making 14.18)

9.6 Locative constructions

A locative construction is a clause whose predicate states the location of the subject. There are various syntactic frames that a language may employ to account for the predominant construction that occurs in response to a ‘Where-question’. This predominant construction is known as the Basic Locative Construction (BLC)

(Levinson & Wilkins 2006:15). Bobuafor (2013:152) proposed four syntactic frames used in Tafi, a language that belongs to the GTM language group. In totality a locative construction consists of an NP (which is the subject of the clause) which denotes the FIGURE, a verb or locative verb, followed by an adpositional phrase which has an NP as the REFERENCE OBJECT and sometimes a locative noun as their Search Domain. The syntactic frames are represented in Table 9.3:

	FIGURE		RELATION	GROUND REFERENCE OBJECT	SEARCH DOMAIN
I.	NP	V _[LOC]		[NP]	(Postposition)] _{PostP}
II.	NP	V _[LOC]		[NP] _[Bpart]	(Postposition)] _{PostP}
III.	NP	V	Prep	[NP]	(Postposition)] _{PostP}
IV.	NP	V ₁ V ₂		[NP]	(Postposition)] _{PostP}

Table 9.3: Syntactic frames of locative constructions (adapted from Bobuafor 2013:152)

It is important to note that the notion of postposition as discussed by Bobuafor (2013) is not the same notion of postpositions as in Sɛkpɛlɛ (see §5.4). In Sɛkpɛlɛ, they are spatial or body-part elements and thus can be referred to as locative nouns. In frame (I), the NP representing the Figure is followed by a locative verb, NP (Ground) and an optional locative noun. Frame (II) is similar to frame (I), however, the NP representing the reference object is a body part. Frame (III) consists of a verb (usually stative) having a locative adjunct phrase occurring after it. The locative adjunct phrase is a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition as its head and a possessive noun phrase as its complement. Frame (IV) is a serial verb construction. The first verb in the series contributes information about the manner in which a Figure is located on the Ground while the second verb describes how the figure is positioned.

Ameka & Levinson (2007:852) identified four language types based on the verbal component used in locative predication. Type 0 languages have no verb in basic locative construction (eg. Saliba). Type I languages have a single locative verb (or a supplet form under certain grammatical conditioning). The verb in this type may be a copula as in English, German, and Tamil; locative/existential predicate as in Yucatec; or a locative verb determined by grammatical categories as in Japanese. Type II languages have a large or unlimited set of positional verbs as in Tzeltal and Zapotec. Finally, Type III languages have a small, contrastive set of posture or positional verbs as in Guugu Yimithirr, Rossel, Dutch, and Arrernte. Based on this classification, Sɛkpele belongs to Type II. Ameka (2007:1065) identified a set of 15 contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction in Sɛkpele. My stipulation is that there could be more given the identification of the locomotive verb *ɔ* 'go towards' in this work. The aim of this section is to elaborate on each of these verbs.

The basic locative construction (BLC) in Sɛkpele is made up of an NP representing the Figure and the subject of the clause followed by a locative verb and an obligatory locative adjunct phrase. The locative adjunct phrase is a prepositional phrase whose head is the locative preposition *ɔ*. The complement of the preposition is a possessive noun phrase which consists of a possessor (noun) and a possessed noun (locative noun), and it specifies the search domain or reference object associated to the Figure. Locative nouns constitute a distinct grammatical class which evolved from body part and environment terms. The locative noun is bound to an NP which is the reference object to form a larger constituent. There are two modes of linking the locative nouns to their dependent NPs: (1) juxtaposition and (2) possessive marker. The former is widely used as the default while the latter is used

to specify the relation of the search domain to the reference object. The figure, the verb, and the reference object are obligatory while the preposition and the locative noun can be omitted under certain circumstances. The locative preposition is normally omitted when the Ground where the Figure is localized is inherently locative such as *kàsɔ* ‘land, ground, earth’ or it relates to a stereotypical expected location of the figure such as *kàtɔ* ‘up, heaven’ and *dɪyɔ* ‘house, room’. On the other hand, the locative noun can be omitted when the information it carries is redundant because it is embedded in the verb or the specific search domain information is recoverable from the reference object especially one which is a surface or container.

The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. As already stated, there are more verbs that are yet to be discovered. The semantic classification of the locative verbs in Sekpele is shown in Table 9.4:

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss
General topological relation	kpé	‘be.in’, ‘exist’
	tákè	‘be.on’
	tó	‘be.at’
	fí	‘be.near’
	kpíó	‘be.near’
Postural	sí	‘sit’
	nyó	‘stand’
	lábè	‘lie’
	fákà	‘hang’
	yómà	‘hang’
	kpésè	‘lean’
	fúsè	‘squat’, ‘be.upside.down’
Distributed configuration	tí	‘cover’
	kpó	‘be.spread’, ‘heaped’
Adhesion	má	‘be.fixed’
	mánklà	‘be.stuck.to’
Locomotive	tó	‘go.towards’

Table 9.4: Locative verbs in Sekpele

9.6.1 The general topological verbs

There are five verbs that make up the general topological verbs. They are the enclosure or containment verb *kpé* ‘be.in/exist’; contact and support verb, *tákè* ‘be.on’; coincidence verb, *tó* ‘be.at’; and propinquity or proximity verbs, *fí* and *kpíó* ‘be.near’.

9.6.1.1 The enclosure or containment verb *kpé* ‘be.in, exist’

The verb *kpé* is used to localize entities in an enclosed or contained space. The entity or Figure could be concrete or abstract, animate or inanimate. The Ground could be a total container such as a room or a box, a partial one such as under a table or a shed, or a surrounded space such as within a fence.

- 910) **okla kpe lə ɔpunu kalɔ**
 ò- klâ **kpé** ló ò- *pònú kálò
 NCL1 cat **exist** LOC NCL3 table down
 ‘A cat is under the table’ (Locative_verb 5.1)

The verb **kpé** is versatile and performs various functions. It is used in both existential and possessive constructions. It is also used in relation to attachment, where the Figure is attached to its reference object. There are two types of attachment. The first type is when the Figure is permanently attached to the reference object such as a door fixed to the entrance of a room or house. The second type refers to adornment such as clothing on the body. Both types of attachment however show a part-whole relation between the Figure and the Ground. The Figure can be said to be an accessory to the Ground which it attaches to permanently or moveably depending on the scope of attachment, as in:

- 911) **siku kpe lə diyo nəmə əsuə**
 sè- *kú **kpé** ló lè- *yó ná- má əsúè
 NCL11 door **exist** LOC NCL5 house CL5 the body
 ‘There is a door on the building’ (Locative_verb 7.1)

- 912) **atoge kpe lə usio ẽ to ato**
 à- tógè **kpé** ló ò- *sìó ẽ tò à- *tó
 NCL6 earring **exist** LOC NCL1 woman CL1.DEF POSS NCL6 ear
 ‘There are earrings on the woman's ears’ (Locative_verb 8.1)

- 913) **lesukpe kpe wə lə anɪ**
 lè- súkpé **kpé** wè ló à- *nî
 NCL5 ring **exist** 3SG.ACC LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘A ring is on her hand’ (Locative_verb 9.1)

- 914) **safi kpe lə siku əsuə**
 sáfí **kpé** ló sè- *kú əsúè
 key **exist** LOC NCL11 door body
 ‘A key is on the door’ (Locative_verb 10.1)

The verb is also used in agentive-causative constructions. In context, it has an active caused locative interpretation and tends to be glossed as ‘put.in’. Another context in which the verb *kpé* is used with a caused locative reading is when it is used to talk about the cultivation of plants. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used to describe how plants are planted and harvested aside from their prototypical usage (see §7.2.1.2.5 and §7.2.1.2.6). The verb *kpé* is used to describe the process of putting stalks or seedlings of plants such as cassava, plantain and cocoa into the ground. The process also includes transplanting seedlings such as pepper and tomato which have gone through a previous cultivation process with the verb *tó* ‘throw, sprinkle’.

- 915) **osani ã akpe kookoo lele nɔmfɔ**
 ò- *sàní ã à- **kpé** kòòkòò lè- *lé ná- mfɔ
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF PFV put cocoa NCL5 year CL5 this
 ‘The man has planted cocoa this month’ (Locative_verb 11.1)

- 916) **okpe kabladyo tsyaa**
 ó= **kpé** kà- blàdzyó tsyâ =
 3SG.NOM.PST= put NCL4 plantain too =TOP
 ‘He planted plantains too’ (Locative_verb 12.1)

- 917) **bakpe tomatosi ku okle lə məmə okwe**
 bá= **kpé** tòmatòsì kú ò- *klé lá mémá òkwé
 3PL.NOM.PST= put tomato and NCL3 pepper LOC 3PL.POSS farm
 ‘They planted tomato and pepper on their farm’ (Locative_verb 13.1)

The verb *kpé* is also used for the localization of abstract Figures. This is illustrated in:

- 918) **kutəkə kpe lə sukuususu əsuə**
 kùtəká **kpé** lə sùkùù sù sù əsúə
 benefit exist LOC school go go body
 ‘There is benefit in education’ (Locative_verb 14.1)

- 919) **bufi kpe lə asaminimini to budi əsuə**
 bùfí **kpé** lə à- *sá mínímíní tò bò- dí əsúə
 disease **exist** LOC NCL6 thing sweet POSS NMLZ eat body
 ‘There is sickness in eating sweets’ (Locative_verb 15.1)

The verb **kpé** has two allomorphs as shown in §9.5. They are the negative existential/locative **bə** which occurs with the negative marker **n-**, and the non-stative form **kè**.

- 920) **lə ebe la , əbunyə fenkə ntu**
 lə é= bé lá à= bó- nyə fè nkà ntù
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= be cook TOP 2SG.NOM FUT see like that water
əmbə lə nya
 à- **n-** **bə** lə nyá
PFV NEG exist LOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘If it is cooked, you will see that water isn't in it’ (Palm_kennel_oil 6.2)

- 921) **nya eso lə okpe lə lelensi kola tsya la ,**
 nyá ésô lə ò= **kpé** lə lélènsì kólá tsyâ lá
 therefore if 3SG.NOM= **exist** LOC abroad even too TOP
elebəə wə ənəmi lee wə
 é= lè bəð wə á- *nəmí léé wə
 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
koto kə lə oto .
 kò- *tó **kè** lə ótò
 NCL7 ear **exist** LOC hometown
 ‘Therefore if he is even abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’
 (King_making 14.9)

9.6.1.2 The contact support verb **tákə** ‘be.on’

The verb **tákə** is used to describe the locative configuration where the Figure is in contact with and supported by a surface on a horizontal plane. The supporting surface is one that is above the ground and can be a flat one such as a table; a rough surface such as a felled trunk of a tree; a high-level peak such a mountain; or a hanging spot such as a shelf. It does not matter what the orientation of the Figure is.

The Figure can be standing or lying on the surface. The surface can also refer to liquids such as the upper surface of a river, stream or ocean, as in:

- 922) **kukuə** **flubia** **komə** **təkə** **lə** **ɔpunu** **əmə**
 kò- *kùá flúbì -à kó- má **tákə** lə ò- *pònú á- mó
 NCL7 book become white ADJV CL7 the **be on** LOC NCL3 table CL3 the
əsuə
 əsúə
 top of
 ‘The white book is on the table’ (Adjective 7.1)

- 923) **oklò** **təkə** **lə** **ntu** **əsuə**
 ò- *klá **tákə** lə ntù əsúə
 NCL3 canoe **be on** LOC water body
 ‘There is a canoe on the river’ (Locative 16.1)

- 924) **kalande** **komə** **təkə** **lə** **ditsyitsya** **to** **kotosi**
 kà- *lándé ka- má **tákə** lə lè- tsyìtsyà tò kòtòsì
 NCL9 machete CL9 the **be on** LOC NCL5 basket POSS check
 ‘The machete is on the edges of the basket’ (Locative 17.1)

The verb **təkə** is used with both animate and inanimate Figures. Some scenarios involving the use of the verb for animate Figures are ‘a man on a roof’ and ‘a bird on a tree’, as in:

- 925) **obe** **usu** **təkə** **lə** **letsya** **əsuə**
 ó = bé ó = sù **tákə** lə létsyá əsúə
 3SG.NOM.PST = climb up 3SG.NOM.PST = go **be on** LOC roof top of
 ‘He climbed onto the roof’ (Verbs 47.1)

The verb can also be used in an agentive construction. When the verb is used in a caused locative construction, the interpretation ‘put.on’ is inferred, as in:

- 926) **kemi əbutəkə** **ntu** **lə** **ateke** , **bobe**
 kè mí à = **bó-** **táká** n- *tù ló àtèké bò = bé
 then 2SG.NOM FUT put on NCL10 water LOC stove CL10.NOM = be cook
efi **bebe** **akpo** **abaka**
 à = fí bè- *bé à = kpó à = báká
 2SG.NOM take NCL12 palm kernel 2SG.NOM pour 2SG.NOM stir
 ‘Then you will put water on fire to boil then pour the palm kernel and stir’
 (Palm_kernel_oil 2.3)

- 927) **lə** **esu** **əkuə** **əbəə** ,
 ló á = sù á = kùə á = bó =
 if 2SG.NOM.PST go 2SG.NOM.PST grind 2SG.NOM.PST come = TOP
əbubə **təkə** **gaze** **lə** **ateke** **biom** .
 à = bó- bó **táká** gázé ló àtèké bíòm
 2SG.NOM FUT come put on steel pot LOC stove again
 ‘If you come back from the mill, you will put the steel pot on the fire again’
 (Palm_kernel_oil 4.8)

When the verb is used in reference to the cultivation of a plant, it is used for the process where the plant is mounted on a raised surface such as a mount or bed.

Plants such as yam and onion are associated with the verb **tákə**, as in:

- 928) **utəkə** **bisi** **lə** **wə** **əkwe**
 ó = **táká** bè- *sí ló wá òkwé
 3SG.NOM.PST = put on NCL12 yam LOC 3SG.POSS farm
 ‘He planted yams on his farm’ (Locative_verbs 18.1)

Just like the containment verb **kpé** ‘be.in’, the contact and support verb **tákə** can have both stative and non-stative readings. It is used to characterise configurations that involve contact and support and firm attachment as well as permanent part-whole relations.

9.6.1.3 The coincidence verb **tá** ‘be.at’

The verb **tá** is used to signal the topological relation of coincidence. It is mainly used in the localization of inanimate Figures. It is the general locative verb used to

refer to entities located on the ground or floor. The verb does not occur in agentive context and thus does not have caused locative readings. The verb *tá* expresses topological coincidence and is highly favoured in localizing entities that are placed on the ground or floor. It is considered the purest of the verbs in stativity since it does not occur in agentive constructions.

- 929) *ɔpunu ɛmə ɛfəsə eye itə lə lekplɛ*
 ò- *pùnó á- mǎ à- fǎsǎ eye è= tá lǎ lèkplè
 NCL3 table CL3 the PFV break and 3SG.NOM= be.at LOC outside
 ‘The table is broken and it is outside’ (Agreement_egs 3.1)

- 930) *afɔkpa tǎ lǎ kesie*
 à- *fǔkpá tá lǎ kèsîè
 NCL6 footwear be.at LOC doorway
 ‘The pair of footwear is at the doorway’ (Locative_verb 19.1)

- 931) *kota ɛntə diyoo ?*
 kó- *tá à- n- tá diyó =
 NCL7 gun PFV NEG be.at house = TOP
 ‘Is there no gun in the room?’ (Pottery 265.1)

9.6.1.4 The propinquity verbs *fi* ‘be.near’ and *kpíó* ‘be.near’

The verb *fi* is used marginally to express entities that have close proximity to their reference object. The Figure is said to be near the vicinity of the Ground. The verb rarely occurs alone in a clause. It normally occurs with postural verbs in a serial verb construction. In most cases, it occurs as the second verb in the series, as in:

- 932) *osani ǎ nyə ɔfi dibie nǝmə*
 ò- *sànî ǎ nyǎ ò= fi lè- *bíǎ nó- mǎ
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF stand 3SG.NOM= be near NCL5 hole CL5 the
 ‘The man is standing near the hole’ (Locative_verbs 20.1)

- 933) **waamfi** **oka** **əmə**
wà = **á-** **n-** **fi** **ó-** ***ká** **á-** **má**
 3SG.NOM = HAB NEG be near NCL1 chief CL1 the
 ‘He doesn’t get near the chief’ (Verbs 359.1)

- 934) **waamfi** **dibiə** **nəmə**
wà = **á-** **n-** **fi** **lè-** ***bíð** **ná-** **má**
 3SG.NOM = HAB NEG be near NCL5 hole CL5 the
 ‘He doesn’t get near the hole’ (Verbs 360)

Another way of expressing proximity is to introduce the locative noun **ʃflə** in the Ground phrase, with the posture verb as the main verb, as in:

- 935) **okpe** **wə** **ɔymɪsani** **ʃflə**
ò = **kpé** **wá** **ɔ̀yìmí** ***sàní** **ʃflə**
 3SG.NOM = exist 3SG.POSS sibling man side
 ‘He lives with his brother’ (Verbs 394.1)

- 936) **unyə** **lə** **usunte** **ʃflə**
ò = **nyə** **lá** **ùsùnté** **ʃflə**
 3SG.NOM = stand LOC main road side
 ‘He is standing beside the road’ (Verbs 375.1)

The verb **fi** can be used to express near-proximity of the Figure to the Ground. This is expressed through the serialization of the finish verb **lósə** depending on the action taken by the Figure to get closer to the Ground.

- 937) **ɔye** **ɔfi** **wə** **diyo**
ó = **yé** **ó =** **fi** **wá** **lè-** ***yó**
 3SG.NOM.PST = walk 3SG.NOM.PST = be near 3SG.POSS NCL5 house
olosa
ó = **lò** **-sə**
 3SG.NOM.PST = be finish CAUS
 ‘He walked and he is almost close to his house’ (Locative_verbs 21.1)

- 938) **ole** **etsyi** **ofi**
 ò = lé ètsyí ó = fí
 3SG.NOM = hold race 3SG.NOM.PST = be near
kalosəko **olosə**
 kà- lò -sə -kó ó = lò -sə
 NCL9 be finish CAUS PLACE 3SG.NOM.PST = be finish CAUS
 ‘He is running and almost close to the finish point’ (Locative_verbs 22.1)

Another verb that is used to express proximity is the verb *kpíś*. The verb is used to express proximity relations that are said to be established by divine inheritance. The Figure is mostly abstract in nature and the relation of the Figure to the Ground is one of possession. The Ground is mostly animate in nature such that it is said to possess the Figure especially by divine heritance.

- 939) **seka** **siǝ** **kpro** **mə**
 sé- *ká siǝ **kpíś** mǎ
 NCL11 chief CL11.DEF be close 3PL.ACC
 ‘The chieftaincy is close to them by inheritance’ (Locative_verbs 23.1)
- 940) **nya** **eso** **ini** **semankrado** **nkpro**
 nyá ésò è = ní sé- *mánkràdò ñ = **kpíś**
 then therefore 3SG.NOM = be NCL11 king making REL = be close
Akontofə **leedi** **ta mmi** .
 Akonto -fǝ lè = á- dí tà mmi
 Akonto PL:PNLZ REL = HAB inherit until today
 ‘Therefore it is king making which is close to the Akonto people which they inherit until today’ (History_amankrado 3.113)

9.6.2 The postural verbs

9.6.2.1 The verb *sí* ‘sit’

The verb *sí* is used to express the state of an animate entity on its base supported from below by a surface. It is used to describe the sitting posture of humans as well as the squatting posture of animals, as in:

- 941) **besio** **si lə obia**
 bà- *sìó **sí** lǎ òbíá
 NCL2 woman **sit** LOC community centre
 ‘The women are sitting at the community centre’ (Locative_verbs 24.1)

- 942) **okla** **si lə diyo kama**
 ò- klâ **sí** lǎ lè- *yó kámà
 NCL1 cat **sit** LOC NCL5 house back
 ‘The cat is sitting at the back of the house’ (Locative_verbs 25.1)

The verb **sí** is also used to localize the dwelling of human entities irrespective of their posture. This has the interpretation of the Figure living or being settled at the Ground. The use of the verb **sí** in this context implies a permanent location which contrasts with the verb **kpé** used for expressing a more temporary location.

- 943) **Kofi si lə oto**
 Kofi **sí** lǎ ótò
 Kofi **dwel** LOC hometown
 ‘Kofi lives in his hometown’ (Locative_verbs 26.1)

- 944) **Kofi kpe oto**
 Kofi **kpé** ótò
 Kofi **exist** hometown
 ‘Kofi is in his hometown’ (Locative_verbs 27.1)

The verb **sí** has an allolexical (non-stative) form **síé** which is used in agentive constructions. It is also used as the non-present counterpart of **sí** which is used to express the idea that the Figure had lived or will be living at the Ground, as in:

- 945) **Mate tsya əsiə lə kakã**
 Mate tsyâ à- sí -ə ló kàkã
 Mate too PFV dwell NON-STV LOC place
bəəsiə to kakã baala
bá= à- sí -ə tò kàkã bá= à- là
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell NON-STV POSS place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut
mfó eto kama .
 mfó eto kámà
 there POSS back
 ‘Mate too settled behind where they had settled at the back of where they were allocated’
 (History_amankrado 3.11)

- 946) **əmbə busiə tsya lə ni .**
 à= n- bə bó- síś tsyâ ló ní
 2SG.NOM NEG come FUT sit too LOC CL5.ACC
 ‘You won’t even sit on it’ (King_making 2.39)

- 947) **bəbe busiə kalə .**
 bə- *bé bó- síś kálò
 NCL12 palm kernel FUT sit down
 ‘Palm kernels will settle in the base’ (Palm_oil 7.1)

Just as the verb *sí* has a more permanent implication compared to *kpé*, *síś* also implicates a more permanent settlement compared to *kè*, the non-present counterpart of *kpé*, as in:

- 948) **Kofi əsiə lə oto**
 Kofi à- sí -ə ló ótò
 Kofi PFV dwell NON-STV LOC hometown
 ‘Kofi had lived in his hometown’ (Locative_verbs 28.1)
- 949) **Kofi ake lə oto**
 Kofi à- kè ló ótò
 Kofi PFV exist LOC hometown
 ‘Kofi has been in his hometown’ (Locative_verbs 29.1)

9.6.2.2 The verb *nyé* ‘stand’

The verb *nyé* is used for entities that are in a relatively upright position in relation to a horizontal surface. This applies to animates, thus humans and animals; entities that are naturally upright such as plants and mountains; structures that are erected such as houses and poles; and entities that are said to stand on their feet, referring to vehicles of all kinds. This is illustrated in:

- 950) *unyə lə usunte ɔflo*
ò= nyé lá ùsùnté ɔflò
 3SG.NOM= stand LOC main road side
 ‘He is standing beside the road’ (Verbs 375.1)
- 951) *kuyi kuə nyə lə ɔkpɔ kafo*
*kò- *yî kuə nyé lá ɔkpɔ kàfò*
 NCL7 tree CL7.DEF stand LOC fence inside
 ‘The tree is standing in the compound’ (Locative_verbs 30.1)
- 952) *kufuo kuə nyə lə obia*
*kò- *fùó kuə nyé lá ɔbíá*
 NCL7 vehicle CL7.DEF stand LOC community centre
 ‘The vehicle is standing at the community centre’ (Locative_verbs 31.1)

While the verb is used with some erected entities firmly fixed to the ground in upright position such as a pole, others such as a bottle that is fixed to the ground and upright use the verb *kpé* as in (953). This is probably due to the limitation of these entities in terms of size and length. The verb *nyé* usually used for entities that are relatively tall. This limitation is extended to creeping creatures such as snakes, cockroaches and ants. Instead of *nyé*, *kpé* or *kpó* is used with these creatures as in (954). Secondly, if the surface is above the ground, then the verb *tákə* is used for such creatures, as in (955):

- 953) **dituntu nəmə kpe kaso**
 lè- *tùntù ná- mǎ **kpé** kàsô
 NCL5 bottle CL5 the **exist** ground
 ‘The bottle is in the ground’ (Locative_verbs 32.1)
- 954) **batata kpo kaso**
 bà- *tátá **kpó** kàsô
 NCL2 ant **pour** ground
 ‘Ants are on the ground’ (Locative_verbs 33.1)
- 955) **owa təkə lə letsya əsuə**
 ò- *wâ **táká** lǎ létsyá əsúə
 NCL1 snake **be on** LOC roof body
 ‘A snake is on top of the roof’ (Locative_verbs 34.1)

In terms of its causative use, the verb **nyé** can either take the causative suffix **-sə** to form the word **nyénsə** ‘cause to stand’, or it can be used in a serial verb construction as the non-initial verb to signal the resultant state of the action of the first verb such as **sù ənyé** ‘go and stand’ and **táká ənyé** ‘get up and stand’. The verb **nyé** with the causative suffix can also occur in a serial verb construction such as **fí ənyénsə** ‘take and put in upright position. The verb **nyé** is thought as the resultative counterpart of the action verb **sé** ‘fix, erect’

9.6.2.3 The verb **lábè** ‘lie’

The verb **lábè** is typically used with animate entities. It is used to characterise entities that are in an elongated position on a horizontal surface. Therefore it is used to localize entities that are lying on a flat surface such as animals lying on the ground and people lying on bed or any surface. The verb **lábè** has an additional sense of sleep, as in:

- 956) **olabè** **lə** **mpa** **bomə** **əsua**
 ò= **lábé** **lɔ́** **̀n-** *pá **bó-** **má** **̀súà**
 3SG.NOM= **sleep** LOC NCL10 bed CL10 the top of
 ‘He is lying on the bed’ (Verbs 78.1)

- 957) **okpa** **labè** **lə** **ɔpunu** **kalo**
 ò- *kpá **lábé** **lɔ́** ò- *pònú **kálò**
 NCL1 dog **lie** LOC NCL3 table down
 ‘A dog is lying under the table’ (Locative_verbs 35.1)

The verb *labè* is not used with inanimates, rather the verbs *tɔ́* and *tɔ́kə* are used for entities on the ground and on surface above the ground respectively. However, the verb *labè* can be used in extreme cases to show contrast among multiple Figures in terms of their orientation and position as in (958). The verb *labè* is also used to describe the resulting position that an entity falls into. In this context, it occurs as the last verb in a serial verb construction in contrast with an action verb which describes the action that made the entity assume the position represented by the verb *labè*, as in (959):

- 958) **itsyə** **nyə** **ena** **labè** **lə** **ɔpunu** **əsua**
 è- *tsyá **nyá** **é-** *ná **lábé** **lɔ́** ò- *pònú **̀súà**
 CL3 three **stand** CL3 four **lie** LOC NCL3 table body
 ‘Three are standing; four are lying on top of the table’
 (Ameka 2007:1090; Locative_verbs 36.1)

- 959) **dikplibi** **nəmə** **etu** **lelabè** **dikubiku**
 lè- *kplíbí nɔ́- **má** à- **tú** **lè=** **lábé** lè- *kùbíkù
 NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the PFV fall **CL5.NOM=** **lie** NCL5 tree stump
nəmə **ɔflo**
 nɔ́- **má** **ɔflò**
 CL5 the side
 ‘The pot fell over and lies near the tree stump’ (Ameka 2007:1090; Locative_verbs 37.1)

In terms of its causative use, the active form of the verb *lábé* takes the causative suffix *-sə* to form the word *lábésə* ‘cause to lie’. Both the verb *lábé* and *lábésə* can

be used in a serial verb construction with a resultative interpretation such as *sù àlábé*

‘go and sleep’ and *sù àlábésè* ‘go and cause it to lie’, as in:

- 960) **nya booyani fə balabesə mfó .**
 nyá bò= ó- yàní fə bà= lábé -sə m̀fó
 then 3PL.NOM= FUT abandon 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= lie CAUS there
 ‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’ (Punishment 9.1)

9.6.2.4 The verbs *fákà* and *yómà* ‘hang’

The verbs *fákà* and *yómà* are used to describe Figures that are attached to their reference object by suspension. *Fákà* is mostly used to characterise a locative relation where the Figure is not supported on any other side at the point of suspension. It is thus used to localize clothing hanging on a hook or line; fruits on trees; and animates hanging on a bar or tree, as in:

- 961) **awu nyəmə fákà lə kuyi əsuə lə usunte oflo**
 àwù nyá- m̀ə fáká lə kò- *yí əsúə lə ùsùnté óflò
 clothing CL6 the hang LOC NCL7 tree top of LOC main road side
 ‘The garment is hung on a tree by the road side’ (Verbs 378.1)

- 962) **bekpəfi bǎ fákà lə kufuo əsuə**
 bà- *kpáfi bǎ fáká lə kò- *fùó əsúə
 NCL2 child CL2.DEF hang LOC NCL7 vehicle body
 ‘The children are hanging on the vehicle’ (Locative_verbs 38.1)

The verb *yómà* on the other hand involves a partial support of the Figure to the reference object. It is mostly used with humans in a bending position engaging in work. In this case the reference object is the ground. If the human figure is off the ground and in contact with a surface other than the ground, then the verb *fákà* is used, as in:

- 963) **eso** **lə** **ayomaa** , **nya**
 ésò ló á= yómà = nyá
 therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST hang =TOP then
fookato
 fõ= ó- kà- tò
 2SG.NOM= FUT PROG mould
 ‘Therefore if you bend over, then you will be moulding’ (Pottery 33.1)

- 964) **kafia** **eto** **ɔle** **əmə** **fakà** **lə** **ɔle** **əsua** ,
 kà- *fiá eto ó- *lè á- má fáká ló ó- *lè àsúà
 NCL9 cloth POSS NCL3 branch CL3 the hang LOC NCL3 branch body
ɔle **ɔni** **tsya yoma**
 ó- *lè ò- *ní tsyâ yómà
 NCL3 branch CL3 one too hang
 ‘A part of the cloth is suspending from the branch (of a tree) and another part also is hanging over the branch’ (Ameka 2007:1092; Locative 39.1)

- 965) **ukua** **əmə** **yoma lə** **sefle** **əsua**
 ó- *kùà á- má yómà ló séflé àsúà
 NCL3 rope CL3 the hang LOC window body
 ‘The rope is hanging on the window’ (Locative_verbs 40.1)

The verb **fakà** can be causativized and used alone or in a serial verb construction to express caused location. The verb **yómà** on the other hand does not take the causative marker and usually maintains its form in a caused serial verb construction.

- 966) **ofakasə** **ditsyitsya** **nəmə** **lə** **kuyi**
 ó= fáká -sə lè- tsyitsyà ná- má ló kò- *yî
 3SG.NOM.PST= hang CAUS NCL5 basket CL5 the LOC NCL7 tree
komə **əsua**
 kó- má àsúà
 CL7 the top of
 ‘He hanged the basket on the tree’ (Verbs 377.1)

9.6.2.5 The verb **kpésə** ‘lean’

The verb **kpésə** is used to describe Figures that are in a leaning relation to their reference objects. The Figure is in contact with the reference object at one point and

supported at another point external to the reference object but orthogonal to it and thus creating an angle between the Figure and the reference object, as in (967) and (968):

- 967) **kalande** **kã** **kpəsə lə** **ofati əsuə**
 kà- *lândé kǎ **kpəsə** ló òfâtí əsúə
 NCL9 machete CL9.DEF **lean** LOC wall body
 ‘The machete is leaning against the wall’ (Locative_verbs 41.1)
- 968) **osani** **ǎ** **kpəsə lə** **kuyi** **əsuə**
 ò- *sànî ǎ **kpəsə** ló kò- *yî əsúə
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF **lean** LOC NCL7 tree body
 ‘The man is leaning against the tree’ (Locative_verbs 42.1)
- 969) **uyi** **əmə** **təkə lə** **ditsyitsya** **eto** **kotosi**
 ò- *yî á- mó **təkə** ló lè- tsyìtsyà eto kòtòsì
 NCL3 tree CL3 the **be on** LOC NCL5 basket POSS check
 ‘The stick is on the edge of the basket’ (Locative_verbs 43.1)

One characteristic of the verb **kpəsə** is the fact that it is used when the reference object is higher than the point of contact with it. In this case the verb **kpəsə** cannot be used with Figures that make contact at the top of the reference object although they may be in a leaning relation. The verb **təkə** ‘be.on’ is preferred instead, as in (969).

9.6.2.6 The verb **fúsə** ‘crouch or squat’

The verb **fúsə** is used to describe the crouching or squatting of animate entities. It is also used to describe inanimates that are upside down, as in:

- 970) **dikpəfi** **nəmə** **fusə** **lə** **diyo** **kama** **ɔlə** **mbi**
 lè- *kpəfí ná- mǎ **fúsə** lá lè- *yó kámà ò= lé mǐbí
 NCL5 child CL5 the **squat** LOC NCL5 house back 3SG.NOM= hold faeces
busie
 bò- sié
 NMLZ defecate
 ‘The child is squatting at the back of the house and defecating’ (Locative_verbs 44.1)

- 971) **ukuse** **əmə** **fusə** **lə** **afə** **əsua**
 ò- *kùsé á- mǎ **fúsə** lá à- *fǒ əsúə
 NCL1 chicken CL1 the **squat** LOC NCL6 egg body
 ‘The chicken is squatting on the eggs’ (Locative_verbs 45.1)

- 972) **eso** **kase** **uutsyi** **ni** **ɔnlə**
 ésò kàsé ó= ò- tsyí ní ò= n- lé
 therefore as 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT carry CL5.ACC 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold
botsylama **sĩĩ** , **ditutə** **dinuəfə** **la** ,
 bo- tsylama sǐĩ lè- tǔtə lè- *núə -fə lá
 NMLZ roam a while CL5 first CL5 two one TOP
bankəbe **ni** **kato** **la** , **enii** **nimble** **kenke**
 bà= n- kóbé ní kàtə lá èníí ná- -n- *blé kéŋké
 3PL.NOM= NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP probably CL5 LIG all all
efusə .
à- fúsə
PFV **overturn**
 ‘Therefore as she carried it and was roaming for a while, first second, if they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned’ (Buying_name 36.1)

- 973) **lə** **ifusə** , **bǎ** **kasə** **hǎ**
 lá é= **fúsə** bǎ kàsə hǎ
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= **overturn** 3PL.REL.PRO ground only
luudii !
 lò= ó- dí =
 REL= FUT eat =UFP
 ‘If it overturns, only those on the ground will eat it’ (Buying_name 37.1)

The verb *fúsə* has a causative overtone and it is used in agentive caused constructions. The same form is used which presupposes that the verb is made up of the root *fū* and the causative maker *-sə*, as in:

- 974) *ufusə* *dikplibi* *nəmə*
 ó = *fúsə* lè- *kplíbí ná- mó
 3SG.NOM.PST = overturn NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the
 ‘He overturned the pot’ (Verbs 304.1)
- 975) *ufi* *ditsyitsya* *ufusə* *lə*
 ó = fí lè- tsyìtsyà ó = *fúsə* lə
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL5 basket 3SG.NOM.PST = overturn LOC
ukuse əsuə
 ò- *kùsé əsúə
 NCL1 chicken body
 ‘He used the basket to cover the chicken’ (Locative_verbs 46.1)
- 976) *ufi* *ukuse* *okpe* *ditsyitsya*
 ó = fí ò- *kùsé ó = kpé lè- tsyìtsyà
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL1 chicken 3SG.NOM.PST = put NCL5 basket
kalo
 kálò
 down
 ‘He placed the chicken under the basket’ (Locative_verbs 47.1)

9.6.3 Distributed configuration

9.6.3.1 The verb *tí* ‘be.covered’

The verb *tí* is used to describe Figures that are said to cover the top of their reference object entirely. The relation of the Figure and the reference object can be tight fit or loose. Scenarios of each of these relations can be ‘a cork on a bottle’ and ‘a cloth covering a table’ respectively. This is illustrated in:

- 979) **lekpakpa** **ti** **wə** **lə** **disi**
lé- *kpàkpà **tí** wə lə dísi
NCL5 hat **cover** 3SG.ACC LOC head
‘A hat is worn on his head’ (Locative verbs 50.1)

980)	uti		lewākplibi				nəmə
	ó=	tí	lé-	wà	*kplíbí	nó-	má
	3SG.NOM.PST=	cover	NCL5	cook	cooking pot	CL5	the
	'He covered the cooking pot'						(Verb 402.1)

- 982) **osani** **əmə** **eti** **siku** **siəmə**
 ò- *sàni á- mó à- tí sè- *kú sí- ó- mó
 NCL1 man CL1 the **PFV** **close** NCL11 door CL11 the
 ‘The man closed the door’ (Verbs 90.1)

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the verb *ʔi* is used. On the other hand, the verb *ʔəkə* is used if the Figure is in contact with a part of the surface, as in:

- 983) **kafia** **kā** **təkə** **lə** **ɔpunu** **əsua**
 kà- *fiá **ká** **təkə** **lá** ò- *pùnú əsùə
 NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF **be on** LOC NCL3 table body
 ‘The cloth is on the table’ (Locative verbs 51.1)

9.6.3.2 The verb *kpó* ‘be.spread, heaped’

The verb *kpó* is used to describe a multiplicity of Figures on a Ground. It is used with respect to a mass of particle-like entities, liquids or flexible objects that are spread in a place or in a heap, as in:

- 984) **kamɔ kpo kasɔ nti**
 kàmɔ **kɔ́** kàsɔ̀ n̄tí
 rice **pour** ground between
 ‘Rice is on the floor’ (Locative verbs 52.1)

- [illegible]

Given that the verb *kpó* is used with mass Figures, it is usually interpreted as ‘pour’ in a caused locative construction. This is illustrated in:

- 986) **ebokpe** **kotoku** **fěě** **fuuwiniṣə** **ntə**
à = b́o- kpé k̀ò- *tòkú fěě fò = ó- wínìṣə òt́ó
2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM = FUT pour ash
buṣ **akpo** **lə** **kotoku** **əsua** .
buṣ à = kpó ĺá k̀ò- *tòkú əsúə
CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body
‘You will put a sack into it before you pour the ash into the sack’ (Soap making 18.4)

- 987) **nya buuyifo bakpo lə ɔbeke əmə**
 nyá bə = ó- yífo bà = kpó lá ò- *bèké á- má
 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM = FUT do 3PL.NOM = pour LOC NCL3 cage CL3 the
 ‘That is what they will put in the cage’ (Punishment 4.1)

9.6.4 Verbs of adhesion

Sekpele has two verbs that are used to characterise adhesion. These verbs are *má* ‘be.pasted’ and *mánklà* ‘be.fixed to’ which are used interchangeably. The verb *má* occurs in a wider context than *mánklà* such that *mánklà* is mostly use with animate Figures. The difference between *má* and *mánklà* is also in whether the attachment configuration between the Figure and the reference object is construed as one which is easily detached or not. This is illustrated in:

- 988) **kukuə kuə ma lə ofati əsuə**
 kò- *kùá kuə má lá òfátí əsúə
 NCL7 book CL7.DEF paste LOC wall body
 ‘The paper is pasted on the wall’ (Locative_verbs 54.1)

- 989) **okanɛ ma lə uyi əsuə**
 ò- kànɛ má lá ò- *yí əsúə
 NCL3 lamp paste LOC NCL3 tree body
 ‘A lamp is attached to a pole’ (Locative_verbs 55.1)

- 990) **ubi ɔ manklà lə wambe**
 ò- *bí ɔ mánklá lá w = ámbê
 NCL1 child CL1.DEF be.fixed.to LOC 3SG.POSS = mother
 ‘The child is fixed to his mother’ (Locative_verbs 56.1)

- 991) **kakwe manklà lə ofati to ukə**
 kà- *kwé mánklá lá òfátí tò ùká
 NCL9 spider be.fixed.to LOC wall POSS tail
 ‘A spider is fixed to the corner of the wall’ (Locative_verbs 57.1)

- 992) **kota manklà lə letigo əsuə**
 kótà **mánklá** ló lè- *tígó əsúà
 mud **be.fixed.to** LOC NCL5 barrel body
 ‘Mud is stuck to the barrel’ (Locative_verbs 58.1)

Another feature that distinguishes *má* from *mánklá* is that fact that *má* cannot take the causative marker whereas *mánklá* can. This is illustrated in:

- 993) **ufi taabo omanklasə uyi**
 ó = fí tàábò ó = **mánklá** -sə ò- *yí
 3SG.NOM.PST = take board 3SG.NOM.PST = **be.fixed.to** CAUS NCL3 tree
əmə əsuə
 á- mó əsúà
 CL3 the body
 ‘He took the board and fixed it to the pole’ (Locative_verbs 59.1)

- 994) **ufi kukuə oma lə ofati əsuə**
 ó = fí kò- *kùó ó = **má** ló òfàtí əsúà
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL7 book 3SG.NOM.PST = **paste** LOC wall body
 ‘He pasted the paper on the wall’ (Locative_verbs 60.1)

9.6.5 Locomotive verb *tó* ‘go.towards’

In answering the question ‘where is X’, where X is moving towards a location, the verb *tó* is used to describe such a scenario. The verb can be used to ask the question ‘where is X going towards’, as in:

- 995) **sieti osani əmə ntó ?**
 siétí ò- *sànî á- mó ñ = **tó**
 where NCL1 man CL1 the REL = **go towards**
 ‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverbs 12.1)

- 996) **osani əmə tó sieti ?**
 ò- *sànî á- mó **tó** siétí
 NCL1 man CL1 the **go towards** where
 ‘The man is heading towards where?’ (Adverbs 13.1)

1000) **lə batɔ** **lə ɔkwɛ tsyaa** , **ɛkplibi**
lɔ̀ bɑ̀= tɔ́ **lɔ̀ ɔ̀kwé tsyâ =** **à- *kplíbi**
 if 3PL.NOM= go towards LOC farm too =TOP NCL6 cooking pot
əmfo beetsyi ntu nə kesu ɔkwɛ kesu
á- mfô bá= á- tsyí ntù nó kà- sù ɔ̀kwé kà- sù
 CL6 this 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB carry water really INF go farm INF go
kənə nə .
kà- nə nó
 INF drink really
 ‘If they are going to farm too, these cooking pots they really carry water to farm and really drink’
 (Pottery 47.10)

9.7 Predicate possessive constructions

Predicate possessive constructions in Sekpele, unlike existential and locative constructions, are bivalent. They involve a possessor and a possessee each of which play different syntactic roles depending on the verb they occur with. The possessor in subject position is said to a HAVE-construction while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction (Ameka, 2013:237; Heine, 2006; Stassen, 2009). Some verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. Others have Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are *kpé* ‘have, exist’, *lé* ‘hold’, *tɔ́* ‘be.at’, *nyé* ‘see, find’ and *tsyí* ‘carry’.

9.7.1 Possessive verbs

9.7.1.1 Kpé ‘have, exist’

The verb *kpé* as used in existential and locative constructions is also used to express possession. There is a Figure-Ground reversal when the possessee is a concrete thing. The possessee is usually indefinite. This is illustrated in:

1001) a) **okpe** **bate** **kpə**
 ò = **kpé** bà- *tê kpə
 3SG.NOM = have NCL2 goat many
 ‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 36.1)

b) **bate** **kpə** **kpe** **wə**
 bà- *tê kpə **kpé** wə
 NCL2 goat many **exist** 3SG.ACC
 ‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 38.1)

1002) a) **okpe** **atabi**
 ò = **kpé** àtábí
 3SG.NOM = have money
 ‘S/he has money’ (Miscellaneous 33.1)

b) **se** **uyi** **nkə** **atabi** **kpe** **mə** **eso** **okpe**
 sé ò = yí nkà àtábí **kpé** m̀ ésò ò = **kpé**
 since 3SG.NOM = know that money **exist** 1SG.ACC therefore 3SG.NOM = **exist**
 waa[bluff]
 wà = á- bluff
 3SG.NOM = HAB bluff
 ‘Since she knows I have money that is why she bluffs’ (Pottery 349.1)

However, there are some situations where either the possessor or the possessee is placed in subject position to avoid ambiguity with locative constructions. If the possessee is a location as in (1003) or the possessor is a specific group as in (1004), then it preferably occurs as the subject to project a possessive meaning. Any attempt to reverse their position will trigger other meanings including a locative one.

1003) **dibu** **saa** **kpe** **ni** **osate**
 lè- *bù sàà **kpé** ni òsàté
 NCL5 hut each **have** CL5.POSS owner
 ‘Each hut has its owner’ (Adverbs 56.1)

- 1004) **eso umə ... kale saa kpe oka fěě**
 ésò ó- *mà kálè sàà **kpé** ó- *ká fěě
 therefore NCL3 town clan each **have** NCL1 chief before
umə́nka tsya **nkpe** .
 ó- *mà -n- *ká tsyâ ñ= **kpé**
 NCL1 town LIG chief too **REL= exist**
 ‘Therefore a town ... each clan has a chief before a town chief too exist’
 (History_amankrado 11.12)

The verb **kpé** is also used to predicate the possession of abstract qualities especially describing the physical property of an entity. In this case, the entity possessing the quality occurs as the subject and there is no reversal of roles.

- 1005) **bitsyikə biəmə kpe kalende**
 bì-tsyìkə bíá- mó **kpé** kàlèndé
 NCL12-load CL12 the **have** heavy
 ‘The package is heavy’ (Adjectives 1.1)

- 1006) **diyibibi nəmə kpe kamni**
 lè- yìbíbí nǎ- mó **kpé** kàmíní
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the **have** sweet
 ‘The fruit is sweet’ (Adjectives 79.1)

- 1007) **osani əmə kpe disiale**
 ò- *sànî á- mó **kpé** dísi àlé
 NCL1 man CL1 the **have** head hard
 ‘The man is wicked’ (Adjectives 111.1)

The verb **kpé** can be used to predicate or show kin and affinal relations. In terms of affinal relation the verb **kpé** can be used to express either having a wife or a husband. However, the verb **fí** ‘take’ is only used with a man having a wife while **sí** ‘sit, dwell’ is used with a woman having a husband. A man does not dwell in a woman’s house neither does a woman takes a man as her husband. This is illustrated in (1008) and (1009):

1008) a) **okpe** **kusə**
 ò = **kpé** kò- *sɔ́
 3SG.NOM = **have** NCL7 husband
 ‘She has a husband’ (Verbs 497.1)

b) **usi** **kusə**
 ò = **sí** kò- *sɔ́
 3SG.NOM = **dwel** NCL7 husband
 ‘She has a husband’ (Verbs 498.1)

1009) a) **okpe** **kusiə**
 ò = **kpé** kó- *sɪə
 3SG.NOM = **have** NCL7 wife
 ‘He has a wife’ (Verbs 499.1)

b) **lə** **obɪa** **obe** **mə** ,
 lá ó = bíá ó = bé mɔ́
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = be quiet 3SG.NOM.PST = grow up like this
ufi **kusiə** ?
 ò = **fí** kó- *sɪə
 3SG.NOM = **take** NCL7 wife
 ‘If he is quite old like this, is he married?’ (King_making 2.11)

9.7.1.2 lé ‘hold’

The verb **lé** is also used to express possession. It is mostly used to describe animate entities possessing concrete things. In its use, there is no Figure-Ground reversal.

The possessor occurs as the subject while the possessee occurs as the object, as in:

1010) **Kofi lə** **kukuə** **lə** **anɪ**
 Kofi **lé** kò- *kùá lá à- *nɪ
 Kofi **hold** NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘Kofi has a book in his hand’ (Verbs 500.1)

- 1011) wə lekpome nəmə , mənle ni
wə lè- *kpòmé ná- mǎ mò = n- lé ní
3SG.POSS NCL5 stool CL5 the 1SG.NOM = EMPH hold CL5.ACC
fěě unsi lə ni .
fěě ò = n- sí lá ní
before 3SG.NOM = EMPH dwell LOC CL5.ACC
'His stool, I am holding it before he is sitting on it' (King making 8.4)

When the verb *lé* occurs with abstract entities, it functions as an ‘affect’ verb. The abstract entity occurs as the subject while the entity affected occurs as the object. There is no reversal of roles.

- 1012) buudi lesa tsyafɛ kukpɔnsɛ le bo
 bó= ò- dí lè- *sá tsyáfɛ́ kùkpànsé lé bò
 1PL.NOM.PST= ANT eat NCL5 thing however hunger hold 1PL.ACC
 ‘We have eaten however we are still hungry’ (Adverbs 27.1)

- 1013) kofani lɛ wə lə wə ubisaibi əsuə
 kòfàni lé wə lə wə ùbìsàíbí əsúə
 shame **hold** 3SG.ACC LOC 3SG.POSS son body
 ‘He is ashamed because of his son’ (Verbs 475.1)

The verb *لَع* can also collocate with other words which result in various concepts and meanings. Examples (1014), (1015) and (1016) illustrate the use of *لَع* with other words to form ‘take care’, ‘give advice’ and ‘seize’ respectively.

- 1014) **bətsyuə** **kola** **baanlə** **ola** **ekuklubi**
 bà- tsyúá kólá **bà=** **á-** **n-** **lé** **ólá** **á-** *kùklúbí
 NCL2 some even 3PL.NOM= HAB NEG hold **care** NCL6 caterpillar
 ake .
 á- kè
 HAB exist
 ‘Even some people don’t take good care of it such that caterpillars dwell in it’
 (Pottery 206.1)

- 1015) **lə wə nkpə əmbə wə kono , ɔle**
 lá wá ñkpá à- n- bá wà kòónó ò= lé
 if 3SG.POSS life PFV NEG exist 3SG.ACC good 3SG.NOM= hold
lesanə lemanleke buyifo ,
 lèsáná lè= n- à- n- lékè bò- yífó
 something REL= NEG PFV NEG be good NMLZ do
bookpadi wə ditutə bale wə
 bò= ó- kpádí wà lé- tùtá bà= lé wà
 3PL.NOM= FUT call 3SG.ACC CL5 first 3PL.NOM= hold 3SG.ACC
kole .
kòlé
advice
 ‘If his lifestyle isn't good, he is doing something which isn't good, they will call him the first time to give him an advice’
 (King_making 12.1)

- 1016) **ēhēē futsyuə to kaso esu ale**
 èhēē f= ùtsyúə tò kàsô à= sù à= lé
 surely 2SG.POSS= somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM go 2SG.NOM hold
ke afo .
 ké à= fò
 CL9.ACC 2SG.NOM receive
 ‘Surely somebody's land, you go and seize’
 (Punishment 1.2)

The verb **lé** is also used in a periphrastic construction to show present progressive aspect (see also §8.1.2.1.1). This is illustrated in:

- 1017) **kutu komə le butu**
 kó- *tù kó- mǎ lé bò- tú
 NCL7 soup CL7 the hold NMLZ be boil
 ‘The soup is boiling’
 (Verbs 124.1)
- 1018) **okpa əmə le lewākplibi nǎ bodia**
 ò- *kpâ á- mǎ lé lé- wà *kplíbí nǎ bò- díá
 NCL1 dog CL1 the hold NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5.DEF NMLZ lick
 ‘The dog is licking the cooking pot’
 (Verbs 386.1)

9.7.1.3 *tə* ‘be.at’

Another verb used to express possession is the verb *tə*. The verb *tə* unlike the verb *lé* is used with inanimate entities. The possessee occurs as the subject and is in a BELONG relation with the possessor which occurs as the object. There is no Figure-Ground reversal with the use of the verb *tə*. The verb *tə* is also used in existential and locative constructions. This is illustrated in:

- 1019) *atabi tə wə*
 àtábí *tə* wə
 money **be.at** 3SG.ACC
 ‘He has money’ (Verbs 501.1)

- 1020) *kalande tə mə*
 kà- *lándé *tə* mə
 NCL9 machete **be.at** 1SG.ACC
 ‘I have a machete’ (Verbs 502.1)

When the verb *tə* is used with abstract entities, it is used to describe the state, quality or attribute that concrete entities possess. This is illustrated in:

- 1021) *lekobe nəmə tə fufu*
 lé- *kàbbé nǎ- mǎ *tə* fúfú
 NCL5 calabash CL5 the **be.at** empty
 ‘The calabash is empty’ (Verbs 276.1)

- 1022) *diyibibi nəmə tə kwankwā*
 lè- yìbíbí nǎ- mǎ *tə* kwáńkwá
 NCL5 fruit CL5 the **be.at** green
 ‘The fruit is green/unripe’ (Verbs 348.1)

- 1023) *dibiə nəmə tə tɛnkɛ*
 lè- *bíə nǎ- mǎ *tə* tɛńklé
 NCL5 hole CL5 the **be.at** shallow
 ‘The hole is shallow’ (Adjectives 96.1)

9.7.1.4 *nyə* ‘see, find’

The verb *nyə* is also used to express possession. The use of a ‘see’ or ‘find’ verb to express possession is a cross-linguistic phenomenon and is found in languages like Ewe, Akan, Ga and Tafi. There is a presumption that what is in one’s perceptual domain or discovery belongs to them. Since it is only animate entities that can see or discover, the possessor is always animate. The verb *nyə* is therefore used to express the possession of concrete entities, abstract attributes and emotional states. The possessor occurs as the subject while the possessee occurs as the object. This is illustrated in:

1024) *osani* *ǎ* *ənyə* *atabi*
 ò- *sàní ǎ à- *nyə* àtábí
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF PFV find money
 ‘The man has money’ (Verbs 503.1)

1025) *osani* *ǎ* *ənyə* *disuəyua*
 ò- *sàní ǎ à- *nyə* disùáyúà
 NCL1 man CL1.DEF PFV find happiness
 ‘The man is happy’ (Verbs 504.1)

The construction is not expressed as stative since what is possessed, seen or discovered has already been achieved. Further evidence that the verb *nyə* is a ‘discovery’ verb is illustrated in:

1026) *unyə* *wə* *lesiabi*
 ó= *nyə* wá lé- *siábé
 3SG.NOM.PST= find 3SG.POSS NCL5 knife
 ‘He found his knife’ (Verbs 427.1)

- 1027) **lə amanfo** **buyifo** **la** , **fěě**
 lá á= n- à- n- fǒ bo- yífó lá fěě
 if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG be able NMLZ do TOP before
bǎ tsya linyə ubi ǎ la , [**from there**] **ko**
 bǎ tsyâ lè= nyə ò- *bí ǎ lá kò
 3PL.REL.PRO too REL= find NCL1 child CL1.DEF TOP then
betu fə .
 bá= tú fǎ
 3PL.NOM.PST= depose 2SG.POSS
 ‘If you haven’t been able to do as such, before those too find the child, from there then they depose you’
 (King_making 12.5)

Just like other possessive verbs, the verb **nyə** can collocate with other words to project different concepts or meanings. Examples (1028) and (1029) portray the meanings of ‘realise’ and ‘experience’ respectively:

- 1028) **alebe Mate əbə nyə bətsyə lekpo bæ**
 álébé Mate à- bó nyə bá= tsyə lèkpó bǎǎ
 however Mate PFV come find 3PL.NOM.PST= put recognition 3PL.COMP
 m !
 m̃
 surprise
 ‘However Mate had surprisingly come to realise that ...!’ (History_amankrado 3.55)

- 1029) **ntsyanko** , **mfó mintsya**
 ní= tsyá -n- -kó mfó m̀ì= -n- tsyâ
 1SG.NOM.PST= meet LIG ASSOC that 1SG.NOM= LIG too
linyə minse nə .
lè= nyə m̀ì= n- sé nǎ
REL= see 1SG.NOM= EMPH reach really
 ‘I experienced, that is where my memory can really take me’ (Good_old_days 11.5)

9.7.1.5 tsyí ‘carry’

The verb **tsyí** is also used to express possession similar to the verb **lé**. There is a presumption that what one is holding or carrying is in his or her possession.

Although the verbs **tsyí** and **lé** share the some construction, **tsyí** is used with

animates that carry only concrete things. The possessor occurs as the subject and there is no Figure-Ground reversal between the possessor and the possessee.

- 1030) **Kofi tsi kukuə kuə**
 Kofi **tsyí** kò- *kùə kuə
 Kofi **carry** NCL7 book CL7.DEF
 ‘Kofi is carrying the book’ (Verbs 505.1)

- 1031) **utsyi bitsyikə biə nkpe kalende**
 ò= **tsyí** bì-tsyikə biə ñ= kpé kàlèndé
 3SG.NOM= **carry** NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL= have heavy
 ‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)

Further evidence of the verb **tsyí** being a verb of possession is illustrated in:

- 1032) **ke Akonto wəntsyi lekpakpa nəmə fenke**
 gake Akonto **wà=** **n-** **tsyí** lè- *kpàkpà ná- mó fè nkà
 but Akonto 3SG.NOM= EMPH **carry** NCL5 hat CL5 the like that
seka
 sé- *ká
 NCL11 chief
 ‘But Akonto, he was carrying the crown like the chieftaincy’ (History_amankrado 3.42)

- 1033) **kə mfó to ama yā leke , lə**
 kə mfó tò à- *má yā lè= kè ló
 previously there POSS NCL6 war CL6.REL.PRO REL= exist if
betsyi mi okankple
bá= **tsyí** mí ó- *kánkplê
 3PL.NOM.PST= **carry** 2PL.POSS NCL1 paramount chief
bedunko ko , bətəkə mi
 bá= dú -n- -kó kò bá= tóká mí
 3PL.NOM.PST= leave LIG ASSOC then 3PL.NOM.PST= be on 2PL.ACC
kato .
 kàtô
 top of
 ‘The wars that existed preciously, if they carry your paramount chief away, then they have conquered you’ (History_amankrado 3.44)

- 1034) **nya məmə tsya lefo diye bənkə Bala buntsyi**
 nyá mémá tsyâ lè = fò diyê bənkə Bálá bò = n- tsyí
 then 3PL.PN too REL = earn name 3PL.COMP Bala 1PL.NOM = EMPH carry
diye nǎ ta mmi .
 lè- *yê nǎ tà mmi
 NCL5 name CL5.DEF until today
 ‘Then they too earned the name Bala we carried the name until today’
 (History_amankrado 3.76)

9.7.2 External possessor constructions

External possessor constructions refer to those which the possessor and possessee do not belong to the same constituent in the clause as do normal possessive constructions. The possessee is said to be located on a body part or spatial location which is expressed by an obligatory locative adjunct. The possessor of the body part is linked to the object function, as in:

- 1035) a) **lekpakpa ti wə lə disi**
 lè- *kpàkpà tí wə ló dísi
 NCL5 hat cover 3SG.ACC LOC head
 ‘A hat is worn on his head’ (Locative_verbs 50.1)
- b) **lekpakpa ti wə disi**
 lè- *kpàkpà tí wə dísi
 NCL5 hat cover 3SG.POSS head
 ‘A hat is worn on his head’
- c) **lekpakpa ti lə wə disi**
 lè- *kpàkpà tí ló wə dísi
 NCL5 hat cover LOC 3SG.POSS head
 ‘A hat is worn on his head’

- 1036) a) **usio** **lòke** **wə** **lə** **diyo** **fěě**
 ò- *sìó lò = ó- kè **wə** ló **lè-** ***yó** fěě
 NCL1 woman REL = FUT exist 3SG.ACC LOC NCL5 house before
buutsyə **utidi** **seka** .
 bò = ó- tsyè ò- *tídi sé- *ká
 1PL.NOM = FUT put NCL1 person NCL11 chief
 ‘A woman will exist with him in his house before they will install a person as chief’
 (King_making 2.12)

- b) **usio** **lòke** **lə** **wə** **diyo** **fěě**
 ò- *sìó lò = ó- kè ló **wó** **lè-** ***yó** fěě
 NCL1 woman REL = FUT exist LOC 3SG.POSS NCL5 house before
buutsyə **utidi** **seka** .
 bò = ó- tsyè ò- *tídi sé- *ká
 1PL.NOM = FUT put NCL1 person NCL11 chief
 ‘A woman will exist with him in his house before they will install a person as chief’

- 1037) a) **bookpo** **fə** **ubuki** **lə** **akpa** ;
 bò = ó- kpó **fə** ò- *bùkí ló **á-** ***kpà**
 3PL.NOM = FUT pour 2SG.ACC NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg
ubuki **akpaana** **ini** **legbosu** .
 ò- *bùkí á- *kpà ána è = ní lèkpòsú
 NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram
 ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram’
 (King_making 2.34)

- b) **bookpo** **ubuki** **lə** **fə** **akpa** ;
 bò = ó- kpó ò- *bùkí ló **fə** **á-** ***kpà**
 3PL.NOM = FUT pour NCL1 animal LOC 2SG.POSS NCL6 leg
ubuki **akpaana** **ini** **legbosu** .
 ò- *bùkí á- *kpà ána è = ní lèkpòsú
 NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram
 ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram’

When we compare example 1035a to 1035b and 1035c, we can observe that the possessor and the possessee are separated by the locative *lə* in 1035a, while in 1035b and 1035c, the possessor and the possessee are together in one constituent. The same applies if we compare the pairs in example 1036 and 1037.

Although the body part is expressed as an oblique element, in some experiential constructions, it is presented as a direct argument and usually occurs as the second object, as in:

- 1038) **əbəbo** **bookpo** **fə** **lə** **əsua** ... **nya**
 əbəbó bə = ó- kpó fə lá əsúə nyá
 white chalk 3PL.NOM = FUT pour 2SG.ACC LOC body 3SG.PN
buefi **kakpo** **ko** **la** , **buutəkə**
 bə = á- fí kà- kpó kò lá bó = ò- táká
 1PL.NOM = HAB take INF pour then TOP 1PL.NOM.PST = ANT put on
fə **kənɪ** **nə** .
fə **kò-** ***nî** **nə**
 2SG.ACC NCL7 arm really
 ‘A white chalk they will pour on you ... it is that which we always pour out, then we have placed our hand on you really’
 (King_making 2.32)

- 1039) **lə** **edi** **nyaa** , **yəmutə**
 lá á = dí nyá = yà = n- ó- tó
 if 2SG.NOM.PST eat 3SG.ACC =TOP 3SG.NOM = NEG FUT cause
fə **kolesa** **bənkə** **kafo** **bufi** **fə** **ŋgbə** ?
fə kó- lèsá bənkə kàfò bó- fí fə ŋgbə
 2SG.ACC NEG thing 3PL.COMP belly FUT pain 2SG.ACC where
 ‘If you eat it, wouldn't it cause something such that your belly will be in pain?’ (Ofo 10.1)

If the possessor is co-referential to the subject of the clause, it is usually not expressed. The body part is assumed to be related to the subject, as in:

- 1040) **Kofi** **lə** **kukuə** **lə** **anɪ**
Kofi lé kò- *kùá lá a- *nî
Kofi hold NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
 ‘Kofi has a book in his hand’
 (Verbs 500.1)

- 1041) **ofo** **ukpə** **lə** **disi**
ó = fò ùkpá lá dísi
 3SG.NOM.PST = receive blow LOC head
 ‘He received a blow on the head’
 (Verbs 494.1)

9.7.3 Expressing lack

There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker *n-*; or (2) using the negative existential verb *mbé*. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. This is illustrated in:

- 1042) **atabi əmbə bo**
 àtábí à- n- b́é b̀ò
 money PFV NEG exist 1PL.ACC
 ‘We don't have money’ (Verbs 506.1)

- 1043) **atabi əntə bo**
 àtábí à- n- t́é b̀ò
 money PFV NEG be.at 1PL.ACC
 ‘We don't have money’ (Verbs 507.1)

- 1044) **baakpo nte nya eso nte ensi**
 bà= á- kpó ntè nyá ésô ntè á- n- sí
 3PL.NOM= HAB pour wine therefore wine HAB NEG still
əmbə kammi
 à- n- b́é kàmíní
 PFV NEG exist sweet
 ‘They pour wine into it therefore wine isn't sweet anymore’ (Pottery 202.2)

Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb *hiá* ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that they are not in possession of such an entity.

This is illustrated in:

- 1045) **kafia fɔfɔ ahia wə**
 kàfiá fɔfɔ à- hiá ẁè
 cloth new PFV need 3SG.ACC
 ‘She needs a new cloth’ (Verbs 486.1)

- 1046) **ntu** **butsyuə** **ahia** **wə** **itə**
 ní- *tù bó- tsyúá à- hiá wə è = tá
 NCL10 water CL10 some PFV need 3SG.ACC 3SG.NOM = give
buflə
 bò- flá
 NMLZ wash
 ‘He needs some water to bathe’
 (Verbs 487.1)

9.7.4 Non-stative expression of possession

As with existential and locative constructions, the non-stative existential verb **kè** is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession. It also used to ask hypothetical questions. These are illustrated in:

- 1047) **əke** **bəkwenkə** **kpə**
 ó = kè bə- *kwé -n- *ká kpə
 3SG.NOM.PST = obtain NCL12 farm LIG item many
 ‘He obtained a good harvest’
 (Verbs 317.1)
- 1048) **ubə** **lə kase** **bəəke** **nkpə**
 ó = bó lə kàsé bə = ó- kè ñkpə
 3SG.NOM.PST = come in order 1PL.NOM = FUT obtain life
 ‘He came in order for us to have life’
 (Adverbs 26.1)
- 1049) **waala** **nkə waake** **awu** **fəfə**
 wà = á- lá níkə wà = á- kè àwù fəfə
 3SG.NOM = HAB want that 3SG.NOM = HAB get clothing new
 ‘He wants to have a new garment’
 (Verbs 148.1)
- 1050) **alə** **asia** **fakafo** **fěě**
 à- *lé àsiá fā = kà- fō fěě
 NCL6 year how much 2SG.NOM = PROG earn before
fakake **bebi** **məmə** **ekua** ?
 fā = kà- kè bə- *bí mómá àkùá
 2SG.NOM = PROG get NCL12 child 3PL.PN six
 ‘How many years have you earned before you have six children?’

9.8 Summary

This chapter discussed clause structures in Sekpele. These include the basic structure of a simple clause, predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and predicative possessive construction. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it: thus Sekpele is an SVO language. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. Proper inclusion is restricted in its word order such that the reference is in focus and placed in clause initial position. The copula is marked with a pronoun which is co-referential to the reference NP. Equation in Sekpele on the other hand, is versatile in term of its word order. The copula is normally placed between the NPs. Since the NPs share a common identity, their position can be switched. The copula can also occur in clause final position just like proper inclusion clause. However each word ordering pattern has its own interpretation within the context it is made.

A predicate adjective clause is a clause in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. They occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb *kpe* in predicate

position. Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. In predicate position, they occur as copula complements to the ‘do-verb’ *yifo* and the positional verb *tə*. There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives could be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix. However it is the latter two that can occur in predicate clauses.

In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle ‘*nə*’, placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *nə* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase just as a demonstrative does. It lays emphasis on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position.

An existential construction in Sekpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two forms of the locative/existential verb: *kpe* ‘be.at, exist’ and *ke* ‘be.at:NPRES’. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence.

Sekpele has a set of 17 or more contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction. The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. The general topological verbs include the enclosure or containment verb *kpé* ‘be.in/exist’; contact and support verb, *təkə* ‘be.on’; coincidence verb, *tə* ‘be.at’; and propinquity or proximity verbs, *fí* and *kpís* ‘be.near’. The postural verbs include the verbs *sí* ‘sit’, *nyə* ‘stand’, *lábè* ‘lie’, *fákà* ‘hang’, *yómà* ‘hang’ and *kpəsə* ‘lean’. The distributed configuration verbs include the verbs *tí* ‘cover’ and *kpó* ‘be spread, heaped’. The adhesive verbs include the verbs *má* ‘be fixed’ and *mánklà* ‘be stuck to’. The locomotive verbs include the verbs *tə* ‘go towards’ and *tsyì* ‘come from’ however the verb *tsyì* has not been discussed in this chapter because of its uniqueness to the rest of the verbs. It is the only verb that takes TAM in the list.

Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are *kpé* ‘have, exist’, *lé* ‘hold’, *tá* ‘be.at’, *nyá* ‘see, find’ and *tsyí* ‘carry’. The verb *kpé* ‘have, exist’ can undergo Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. The possessor in subject position is said to be a HAVE-construction while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction. The other verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker *n-*; or (2) using the negative existential verb *mbá*. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb *hía* ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that they are not in possession of such an entity. The non-stative existential verb *ké* is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession. It also used to ask hypothetical questions.

10 VERB AND CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

In previous chapters, I discussed clause types and structures (see chapter 9). I also discussed verbs and their argument structure (See chapter 8: verbs and valency). Within a discourse, it is possible for a speaker to make a combination of clauses and/or a combination of verbs within a single clause. This chapter discusses several construction types that involve combinations of verbs and/or clauses.

This chapter is organised as following: section 10.1 discusses multi-verb clauses: serial verbs; overlapping clauses; and consecutive constructions, section 10.2 discusses complement clauses, section 10.3 discusses adverbial clauses, section 10.4 discusses relative clauses, and section 10.5 discusses coordination.

10.1 Multi-verb constructions

A multi-verb construction involves a sequence of verbs or verb phrases and their complements without any marker of syntactic dependency; typically, there is at least one argument common to all the verbs in a sequence (with various constraints on their expression). The VPs in the sequence are seen as related and the individual verbs can function as independent verbs in simple clauses (in the same form). It is very important to distinguish between several types of multi-verb constructions, namely serial verbs; overlapping clauses and consecutive clauses. A language may have all these types of multi-verb constructions. Due to similarities, they have all been labelled as serial verbs in the typological and descriptive literature. As Creissels (2000:240) put it:

“It is difficult to say exactly which languages have serial verbs. The point is that manipulations are necessary in order to establish the precise

nature of a verb sequence, since at first sight, there is most of the time no obvious distinction between serial verbs and verb sequences in which each verb constitutes a distinct predicate, in particular consecutive constructions (i.e. constructions in which two or more successive clauses represent successive events...). Unfortunately in many descriptions of African languages, any more or less “exotic” verb sequences (i.e. any sequence of verbs that does not exhibit every characteristic of the sequence of verbs found in European languages), are loosely termed ‘serial verbs’. In typical serialising languages, many constructions commonly viewed as particular types of serial verbs are not serial verbs at all. In Africa, uncontroversial cases of serial verbs are found mainly in Kwa languages (e.g. Ewe) and in Benue-Congo languages previously classified as Eastern Kwa (e.g. Yoruba).”

Ameka (2006:130) provides properties that distinguish several types of multi-verb constructions. He identifies three types: serial verbs; overlapping clauses; and consecutive constructions. Table 10.1 provides a list of features that are shared by all multi-verb clauses and also features that distinguish between them:

Features	Serial verb	Overlapping	Consecutive
Each verb can have different aspect and /or modal marking	yes	yes	yes
Each verb can have different mood marking	no	yes	yes
Each verb can be independently negated	no	yes	yes
Subject argument of each verb can be overtly expressed.	Depends on whether the language mandates it.	yes	yes
Is the subject of each verb the same or different?	same	different	same or different
Each verb can surface with its own non-subject argument	yes	yes	yes
Elements can occur between verbs	yes	yes	yes
Each VP can be independently focused or questioned	yes	yes	yes
Connectives can occur	no	no	yes
How many clauses?	monoclausal	bi-clausal	multi-clausal

Table 10.1: Similarities and differences in multi-verb constructions (adapted and modified from Ameka 2006:130).

10.1.1 Serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort (Aikhenvald 2006:1). Serial verb constructions are widespread in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea. Characteristics of serial verb constructions that distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions are as follows:

- Each component functions as part of a single event.
- They function as a single predicate just like monoverbal clauses.
- They allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components.

- They have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause, and not of a sequence of clauses.
- They share tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values such that no independent choice or contrast in any of these categorises is possible for individual components.
- They share at least one argument.

All VPs in a serial verb construction share the same subject or the referent of the subject arguments includes an identical participant. Use of the term VP here implies a verb and its object(s). They do not involve syntactic switch-function, a characteristic of overlapping clauses (see 10.1.2). In Sekpele, a serial verb construction can be contiguous or non-contiguous. Verbs in contiguity occur next to each other, as in:

1051)	nya	besu		beku		kasɔ		kǎ
	nyá	bá=		sù	bá=	kù	kà-	*sô
	then	3PL.NOM.PST=		go	3PL.NOM.PST=	dig	NCL9	ground
	beefi			baakpe				CL9.DEF
	bá=		à-	fí	bá=	à-	kpé	
	3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	take	3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	put		
	‘Then they went and dug the ground and put (them) there’						(History amankrado 3.54)	

- 1052) *nya* *besu* *bələkə* *wə* *ku* *ketsye*
nyá *bá=* *sù* *bá=* *lókə* *wə* *kú* *kà-* **tsyé*
 then 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= remove 3SG.ACC with NCL9 night
fěě *ku* *ketsye* *kǎ* *nko* *besu*
fěě *kú* *kà-* **tsyé* *kǎ* *ńkò* *bá=* *sù*
 before and NCL9 night CL9.DEF like that 3PL.NOM.PST= go
bewi *lə* *utə* , *beesinkli*
bá= *wí* *lɔ* *ùtə* *bá=* *à-* *sínkli*
 3PL.NOM.PST= roast LOC fire 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV return
beesu *baakpe*
bá= *à-* *sù* *bá=* *à-* *kpé*
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV go 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put
 ‘Then they went and removed it in the night before in that night, they damped it in fire and
 returned it into the ground’ (History_amankrado 3.58)

Example 1051 has two sub-events. The first event has the verbs *sù* ‘go’ and *kù* ‘dig’ occurring in congruity while the second event has the verbs *fí* ‘take’ and *kpé* ‘put’. Both events share the same theme *kàsò* ‘ground’ which is represented once in the clause. Example 1052 has three sub-events. The first event has *sù* ‘go’ and *lókə* ‘remove’, the second event has *sù* ‘go’ and *wí* ‘roast’, while the third event has *sínkli* ‘return’, *sù* ‘go’ and *kpé* ‘put’. Each set of verbs occur in congruity to each other. On the other hand, serial verbs which are non-contiguous have another constituent intervening between them, as in:

- 1053) *bəmutsyi* *lekonklo* *baye* *lə* *betidi*
bà= *n-* *ó-* *tsyí* *lèkònklo* *bà=* *yé* *lɔ* *bà-* **tídi*
 3PL.NOM= NEG FUT carry Lèkònklo 3PL.NOM= walk LOC NCL2 person
nti *batsylama* *sĩ* *fěě* *buufi* *ni*
ntí *bà=* *tsylama* *sĩ* *fěě* *bò=* *ó-* *fí* *ní*
 between 3PL.NOM= roam a while before 3PL.NOM= FUT take CL5.ACC
besu *diyo* .
bà= *sù* *lè-* **yó*
 3PL.NOM= go NCL5 house
 ‘They will not carry lekonklo and roam about in the midst of people for a while before taking
 it to the house’ (Buying_name 34.10)

- 1054) **se baakpa mə beesu la** ,
sé bá= à- kpá mǎ bá= à- sù lá
 when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV gather 3PL.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV go TOP
bawã edisa ẽ bakpe .
bá= wǎ à- dí *sá ẽ bá= kpé
 3PL.NOM.PST= cook NCL6 eat thing CL6.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST= put
 ‘When they took them there, they cooked and put it in the meals’ (History_amankrado 3.84)

Example 1053 contains two clauses. Each clause is a serial verb construction in which the verbs have an intervening element between them. The first clause in example 1053 has the verbs *tsyí* ‘carry’, *yé* and *tsylāmà* ‘roam’ with *Lèkònkìlò* and *bètídi*, as intervening elements respectively. The second clause has the verbs *ff* ‘take’ and *sù* ‘go’ with *ní* as the intervening element. Example 1054 has two clauses. The first clause has the verbs *kpá* ‘gather’ and *sù* ‘go’ with *mǎ* intervening between them while the second clause has the verbs *wǎ* ‘cook’ and *kpé* ‘put’ with *edisá* intervening between them.

Marking of grammatical categorises on the verbs vary. In Sekpele, whereas subject pronominals are marked concordantly on each verb, aspect, modality and negation are marked on the first verb. Tense occurs as a portmanteau morpheme with subject pronouns; therefore it is represented concordantly on each verb. Past tense and past perfect can be marked on each verb in a clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1055) **nya məmə tsya letaka bəbə babe**
nyá mómó tsyâ lè= tákà bá= bǎ bá= bè
 then 3PL.PN too REL= get up 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= see
kasɔ kǎ nya besu bala
kà- *sô kǎ nyá bá= sù bá= là
 NCL9 land CL9.DEF then 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= cut
kasɔ kǎ nko pete .
kà- *sô kǎ níkò pété
 NCL9 land CL9.DEF like that completely
 ‘Then they too got up and came to see the land then shared the land like that completely’
 (History_amankrado 3.101)

- 1056) **nya** **baale** **seka** **siã**
 nyá **bá=** à- **lé** sé- *ká siã
 then **3PL.NOM.PST=** **PFV** **possess** **NCL11** **chief** **CL11.DEF**
baafo **lə** **Akonto** **eto** **anɪ**
bá= à- **fɔ** **lɔ** **Akonto** **eto** à- *nɪ
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **collect** **LOC** **Akonto** **POSS** **NCL8** **arm**
beefi **semankrado** **beefi**
bá= à- **fɪ** **sɛ-** *mánkràdò **bá=** à- **fɪ**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **take** **NCL11** **king making** **3PL.NOM.PST=** **PFV** **take**
bəɛtə **wə** .
bá= à- **tá** **wə**
3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **give** **3SG.ACC**
 ‘Then they had possessed the chieftaincy from the hands of Akonto and they had given him the king’
 (History_amankrado 3.112)

Example 1055 has two clauses, the verbs of which carry past tense marking. Example 1056 also has two clauses and they are both marked for past perfect. Past perfect in Sekpele is represented by past tense and perfective aspect on the verb. On the other hand, habitual, future/potential and negation are marked once on the first verb and they cover the entire scope of the clause, as in:

- 1057) **baata** **ata** **katsylama** **bəmuə**
bá= á- **tá** à- *tá **kà-** **tsylama** **bà=** **múś**
3PL.NOM.PST= **HAB** **shoot** **NCL8** **gun** **INF** **surround** **3PL.NOM=** **catch**
mfó **bedu** , **nya** **fěě** **buusu** **bəsia**
m̩fó **bà=** **dú** **nyá** **fěě** **bò=** **ó-** **sù** **bà=** **síś**
 there **3PL.NOM=** **leave** then before **3PL.NOM=** **FUT** **go** **3PL.NOM=** **dwell**
 ‘They shoot guns around to capture there they leave then they will go and settle’
 (History_amankrado 3.103)

- 1058) **banter** **fə** **bənkə** **baantsya**
bá= n- **téyí** **fə** **bánkə** **bà=** á- n- **tsyá**
3PL.NOM.PST= **NEG** **tell** **2SG.ACC** **3PL.COMP** **3PL.NOM=** **HAB** **NEG** **assemble**
kaka **betidi** **lə** **məmə** **ayo** ?
kà- **kà** **bà-** *tídi **lɔ** **mámá** **à-** *yó
INF **insult** **NCL2** **person** **LOC** **3PL.POSS** **NCL6** **house**
 ‘Haven't they told you that they don't insult people in their houses?’ (Pottery 155.1)

- 1059) oo loo ni bəmufi baboko mə .
 òó lóó ní bà= n- ó- fí bà= bóókó m̀ə
 no UFP be 3PL.NOM= NEG FUT take 3PL.NOM= bring 1SG.ACC
 ‘Oh no, they will not bring it to me’ (Buying_name 59.1)

Example 1057 has two clauses. The first clause is marked for habitual while the second clause is marked for future/potential. In each instance, the aspect is marked on the first verb but its scope spreads across the entire clause. Examples 1058 and 1059 are marked for habitual and future respectively. They are also marked for negation which is also marked only on the first verb. Although subject pronouns are underlyingly attached to verbs, in colloquial speech, the subject pronoun attached to the second verb in a series may be dropped. The subject pronoun resurfaces on subsequent verbs thereafter. This phenomenon of dropping the subject pronoun occurs with contiguous verbs involving the verb *bə* ‘come’ and is illustrated in:

- 1060) a) nya betidi luunya fə kaminso bəbə
 nyá bà- *tídi lè= ó- nyè fə kàmínsə bà= b́ə
 then NCL2 person REL= FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM= come
 yankli fə .
 yánkli fə
 untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’ (Punishment 12.1)

- b) nya fə bayımı lee fə baxɔɔ , məmə
 nyá fə bà- *yímí léé fə bà- *xɔ́ =ɔ́ ḿémə
 then 2SG.POSS NCL2 sibling or 2SG.POSS NCL2 friend =TOP 3PL.PN
 luusu baye hee bəbə
 l̀ə= ó- sù bà= yé héé bà= b́ə
 REL= FUT go 3PL.NOM= walk craftily 3PL.NOM= come
 bayankli fə .
 bà= yánkli fə
 3PL.NOM= untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then your siblings or friends, they will walk craftily to untie you’ (Punishment 13.1)

Example 1060a and 1060b have the sequence of the verbs *bə* ‘come’ and *yánkɪ* ‘untie’. In 1060a, the pronominal prefix on the verb *yánkɪ* is omitted while that in 1060b is retained. This is related to the rate at which utterances are made. In fast speech, speakers are likely to omit the pronominal prefix on a subsequent verb whereas in slow and careful speech they retain it. The omission of the pronominal on the verb is restricted to the verb that occurs immediately after the verb *bə*, as in:

1061) *eso bəbə dufə bəsiə*
ésò bá= à- bə dúfə bá= à- sí -ə
 therefore 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come arrive 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV
 ‘Therefore they had come and settled’ (History_amankrado 3.7)

1062) *eso se bəələkə otodi ǝ la* ,
*ésò sé bá= à- lókə ó- *tòdì ǝ lá*
 therefore when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV remove NCL3 palm frond CL3.DEF TOP
bəbə nyə batsyə lekpo bənkə məmə
bá= bə nyə bá= tsyè lèkpó bənkə məmá
 3PL.NOM.PST= come find 3PL.NOM.PST= keep recognition 3PL.COMP 3PL.PN
ələkə məmə otodi besu bakpe
à- lókə məmá òtòdì bá= sù bá= kpé
 PFV remove 3PL.POSS palm frond 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= put
 ‘Therefore when they had removed the palm frond, they found out that they had removed their palm frond’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

1063) *bəbə wā edisabi ini aloku*
*bá= bə wā à- dí *sá -bí è= ní àlòkù*
 3PL.NOM.PST= come cook NCL6 eat thing DIM 3SG.NOM= be meat hide
bəbə bakpe keni .
*bá= bə bá= kpé kà- *ní*
 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= put NCL4 dirt
 ‘They came to cook a dish which is meat hide and put poison into it’ (History_amankrado 3.81)

In examples 1061 and 1062, the pronominal prefixes of the verbs *dúfə* ‘enter/arrive’ and *nyə* ‘find’ have been omitted respectively while all other verbs carry their pronominal prefixes. Example 1063 illustrates that the pronominal prefix can be

retained in slow and careful speech. Example 1063 has two sub-events, each of which constitutes a serial verb with the verb *bɛ́*. The serial verbs are *bɛ́/wǎ* ‘come/cook’ and *bɛ́/kpé* ‘come/put’ respectively. The first set has the pronominal prefix of the second verb dropped while that of the second set is retained. In slow speech, the verb *wǎ* can retain its prefix; likewise the verb *kpé* can drop its prefix in fast speech.

Serial verb constructions can occur with a nominalized verb construction. This is illustrated in:

- 1064) *nya ni mə boye kəbə mfo* .
nyá ní mǎ bó- yé kà- bɛ́ mǫ
 3SG.PN be 3PL.POSS NMLZ walk INF come here
 ‘That was their journey to this place’ (History_amankrado 1.11)
- 1065) *wofo budu kesu kake lə lelensi*
wò= ó- fó bo- dú kà- sù kà- kè ló lélènsì
 3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ leave INF go INF exist LOC abroad
 ‘He will be able to leave to stay abroad’ (King_making 14.4)
- 1066) *ɔle ekubi nyəmə bɔse kətsyə ditsyu*
*ò= lé à- *kùbí nyá- mǎ bo- sè kà- tsyè dítsyû*
 3SG.NOM= hold CL6 rubbish CL6 the NMLZ gather INF put pile
 ‘He is piling the rubbish together’ (Verbs 409.1)

Example 1064 has a nominalized verb construction within a possessive construction. The nominalized verb construction is made up of the serial verbs *yé* ‘walk’ and *bɛ́* ‘come’. Example 1065 has the nominalized verb construction made up of the serial verbs *dú* ‘leave’, *sù* ‘go’ and *kè* ‘exist’. The verb *fó* ‘be able’ marks the deontic modality of ability. The nominalized verb construction in example 1066 is made up of the verbs *sè* ‘gather’ and *tsyè* ‘put’. The verb *lé* ‘hold’ marks the progressive aspect.

Any verb in a serial verb construction can be focused. A nominalized form of the verb is placed in a preclausal position while the verb is retained within the clause. This is how predicate focus is achieved in Sekpele and most Kwa languages (see also §8.4.4). This is illustrated in:

1067) **ənni** **butsyiko** **beetsyi**
 è= n- ní **bo-** **tsyí** **-kó** **bá=** **á-** **tsyí**
 3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ carry ASSOC 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB carry
ko kesu kasono ni kətsyə .
 kó **kà-** **sù kà-** **sónò** ní **kà-** **tsyè**
 CL7.ACC INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
 ‘Don’t they **CARRY** it along to off-load!’ (Buying_name 39.1)

1068) **ənni** **busu** **beetsyi** **ko**
 è= n- ní **bo-** **sù** **bá=** **á-** **tsyí** **kó**
 3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ go 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB carry CL7.ACC
kesu kasono ni kətsyə .
kà- **sù kà-** **sónò** ní **kà-** **tsyè**
 INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
 ‘Don’t they carry it **ALONG** to off-load!’

1069) **ənni** **bəsono** **beetsyi** **ko**
 è= n- ní **bo-** **sónò** **bá=** **á-** **tsyí** **kó**
 3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ off-load 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB carry CL7.ACC
kesu kasono ni kətsyə .
kà- **sù kà-** **sónò** ní **kà-** **tsyè**
 INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
 ‘Don’t they carry it along to **OFF-LOAD**!’

1070) **ənni** **butsyə** **beetsyi** **ko**
 è= n- ní **bo-** **tsyè** **bá=** **á-** **tsyí** **kó**
 3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ put 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB carry CL7.ACC
kesu kasono ni kətsyə .
kà- **sù kà-** **sónò** ní **kà-** **tsyè**
 INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
 ‘Don’t they carry it along to off-load it **DOWN**!’

Examples 1068, 1069 and 1070 are variants of example 1067 to show that each verb in a series can be focused. In example 1067 the verb *tsyí* ‘carry’ is in focus. It has been nominalized and placed in preclausal position. The verb is also retained in its original position in the clause. In examples 1068, 1069, and 1070, the verbs *sù* ‘go’, *sónò* ‘offload’ and *tsyè* ‘put’ are in focus respectively. In each case, a copy of the verb is retained in its original position.

10.1.1.1 Functional types of serial verb constructions

Serial verbs are used to perform various pragmatic functions depending on the semantics of the verbs involved and the relation they have within a construction. The functional types of serial verbs include manipulative, directional, dative, comparative, aspectual, resultative, and posture. These are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

10.1.1.1.1 Manipulative SVCs

Manipulative SVCs involve the handling verb *fi* ‘take’ as the first verb. In this construction, the first VP describes the means by which the states of affairs expressed by subsequent VPs are carried out. The NP complement of the verb *fi* could be an instrument used for performing the subsequent sub-event, or a theme which undergoes a change of location, or a theme of a dative construction (see 10.1.1.1.3). This is illustrated in:

1071) <i>nya fuufi</i>			<i>diwuə eklu</i>		<i>kenke .</i>
<i>nyá fò=</i>	<i>ó-</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>diwúə à=</i>	<i>klù</i>	<i>kénké</i>
then 2SG.NOM=	FUT	take	hoe 2SG.NOM	weed with hoe	all
‘Then you will weed with a hoe completely’				(Good_old_days 6.3)	

- 1072) **muufi** **lefianku** **ntəkə**
mò= **ó-** **fí** **lè-** ***fiá** **-n-** ***kù** **̀̀=** **táká**
 1SG.NOM= FUT take NCL5 cloth LIG piece 1SG.NOM= put on
nsingli **ntsyròbesə** **kenke**
̀̀= **sínkli** **̀̀=** **tsyróbè** **-sə** **kéŋké**
 1SG.NOM= return 1SG.NOM= smoothen CAUS all
 ‘I will put a rag on it and smooth it again completely’ (Pottery 81.1)

- 1073) **buufi** **ntu** **buã** **bata** **lə**
bò= **ó-** **fí** **ń-** ***tù** **buã** **bà=** **tá** **lá**
 3PL.NOM= FUT take NCL10 water CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM= splash LOC
fenkə **diyo** **to** **kato** **mə** **...**
fěnkə **lè-** ***yó** **tò** **kàtô** **má**
 assuming NCL5 house POSS top of like this
 ‘They will splash the water on top of the house’ (Naming_ceremony 10.1)

- 1074) **nya** **buukiti** **...** **bəsə** **lə** **kasə** **...** **ko**
nyá **bò=** **ó-** **kútí** **bà=** **só** **lá** **kàsə** **kò**
 then 3PL.NOM= FUT fetch 3PL.NOM= sprinkle LOC ground then
befi **lefefe** **bedunko**
bà= **fí** **lé-** ***fěfě** **bà=** **dú** **-n-** **-kó**
 3PL.NOM= take NCL5 remaining 3PL.NOM= leave LIG ASSOC
besu **bətsyə** **.**
bà= **sù** **bà=** **tsyə**
 3PL.NOM= go 3PL.NOM= keep
 ‘Then they will fetch ... sprinkle on the ground ... then take the remaining away to keep’
 (Buying_name 31.3)

Examples 1071 and 1072 involve the use of an instrument to perform the subsequent task. The instrument in example 1071 is *dìwúś* ‘hoe’ while that of example 1072 is *lèfiánkù* ‘rag’. Rags are used in pottery to smooth the edges of a pot. They are soaked in water and rubbed carefully along the edges to make them smooth. Examples 1073 and 1074 on the other hand involve the movement of a theme. In 1073, the water is splashed onto the roof of the house. In 1074, the remainder of the substance that was sprinkled is taken away to be kept. Both themes in 1073 and

1074 undergo a change of location as a result of them being manipulated. The manipulation effect is indicated by the verb *fɛ* ‘take’.

10.1.1.1.2 Directional SVCs

Directional SVCs involve motion verbs are used to denote the direction of movement of the state of affairs being expressed in the preceding VPs. The motion verb in final position signals the endpoint of the entire SVC while the preceding VPs express the manner of motion. Motion verbs that are used in this construction include *sù* ‘go’, *tɔ* ‘go towards’, *bɔ* ‘come’, *bɔ* ‘get out’ and *dúfɛ* ‘enter/arrive’. This is illustrated in:

1075) **Kofi aka kufuo usu Bekpi**
 Kofi à- **ká** kò- *fùó **ó=** **sù** Bèkpí
 Kofi PFV **drive** NCL7 vehicle **3SG.NOM.PST=** **go** Hohoe
 ‘He drove the vehicle to Hohoe’ (Miscellaneous 93.1)

1076) **nya betidi loobo kenke nya bale fə**
 nyá bà- *tídi lò= ó- bó kénké nyá bà= lé fə
 then NCL2 person REL= FUT get out all then 3PL.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC
boyele nya fěě bentsyi fə
 bò- yèlê nyá fěě **bà= n- tsyí fə**
 NMLZ hoot then before **3PL.NOM= EMPH carry** 2SG.ACC
bantonko
bà= n- tɔ -n- -kó
3PL.NOM= EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC
 ‘Then all people who will get out hooting at you while carrying you away’ (Punishment 17.2)

In example 1075, the direction in which the vehicle was driven is indicated with the verb *sù* ‘go’. In example 1076, the direction of the action of carrying is indicated with the verb *tɔ* ‘go towards’. Motion verbs can also occur as the first verb in a series, and they imply that the subject moves in a certain direction in order to perform the task in the subsequent VPs. They can also combine with other motion

verbs in series and the direction of movement depends on the orientation of the verbs: thus the movement in one direction results in or complements another movement. This is illustrated in:

- 1077) **lə** **esu** **əkuə** **əbəə** ,
lɔ́ **á=** **sù** **à-** **kùè** **à-** **bɔ́** **=**
 if 2SG.NOM.PST go 2SG.NOM grind 2SG.NOM come =TOP
əbubə **təkə** **gaze** **lə** **ateke** **biom** .
à= **bó-** **bɔ́** **táká** **gàzé** **lɔ́** **àtèké** **bíòm**
 2SG.NOM FUT come put on steel pot LOC stove again
 ‘If you come back from the mill, you will put the steel pot on fire again’
 (Palm_kernel_oil 4.8)

- 1078) **ke** **fěě** **bəəbə** **dufə** **la** ,
gake **fěě** **bá=** **à-** **bɔ́** **dúfə** **lá**
 but before 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come arrive TOP
bəəbə **bɔ́** , **Bakwa** **kato** , **məmə** **fe**
bá= **à-** **bɔ́** **bɔ́** **Bakwa** **kàtô** **mómó** **fě**
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come get out Bakwa North 3PL.PN already
besi .
bè= **sí**
 2PL.NOM= dwell
 ‘But before they had arrived, in their sight was Bakwa north, they were already dwelling there’
 (History_amankrado 1.12)

Example 1077 has two clauses each of which contains a serial verb construction. The first clause is made up of the verbs *sù* ‘go’, *kùè* ‘grind’ and *bɔ́* ‘come’. There are two directional verbs involved: one at the beginning and the other at the end which indicates a movement to a place to perform the task of grinding and back from that place. The second clause indicates a movement to put a steel pot on the fire. Example 1078 has two sets of serial verbs: *bɔ́* ‘come’ and *dúfə* ‘enter/arrive’; *bɔ́* ‘come’ and *bɔ́* ‘get out’, the first of each indicating movement.

10.1.1.1.3 Benefactive SVCs

Benefactive SVCs are used to indicate that a state of affairs occurs with respect to an intended target either for their benefit, for their sake or on their behalf. This is indicated by the verb *tə* ‘give’ which occurs as the last verb of the series. The verb *tə* ‘give’ is used to introduce the role of recipient or beneficiary. It can co-occur with any verb including the verb *fɪ* ‘take’ (see 10.1.1.1.1). This is illustrated in:

- 1079) *wə* *kosate* *to* *kafia* *buuləkə*
wə *kòsàté* *tò* *kà-* **fiá* *bò =* *ó-* *lókə*
 3SG.POSS ownself POSS NCL9 cloth 3PL.NOM = FUT remove
bətə *fə* .
bà = *tə* *fə*
 3PL.NOM = give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Her own cloth they will give you’ (Buying_name 40.3)

- 1080) *buusu* *bafo* *əkwe* *bətə* *wə* ,
bò = *ó-* *sù* *bà =* *fó* *əkwé* *bà =* *tə* *wə*
 3PL.NOM = FUT go 3PL.NOM = cultivate farm 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC
bakpe *kookoo* *bətə* *wə* *lee* *bakpe*
bà = *kpé* *kòòkòò* *bà =* *tə* *wə* *léé* *bà =* *kpé*
 3PL.NOM = plant cocoa 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC or 3PL.NOM = plant
kɔfi *bətə* *wə*
kɔfi *bà =* *tə* *wə*
 coffee 3PL.NOM = give 3SG.ACC
 ‘They will go and farm for him, plant cocoa for him or plant coffee for him’
 (King_making 14.20)

- 1081) *wə* *beefi* *okankple*
wə *bá =* *à-* *fɪ* *ó-* **kánkplê*
 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take NCL1 paramount chief
beefi *bəətə* .
bá = *à-* *fɪ* *bá =* *à-* *tə*
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give
 ‘Him they had given the paramount chief’ (History_amankrado 3.26)

Example 1079 has the serial verbs *lókà* ‘remove’ and *tə* ‘give’. It entails taking something from a lot and giving it to someone. In this case, the mentor’s cloth is being given to the mentee. Example 1139 has two sets of serial verbs. The first set has the verbs *sù* ‘go’, *fò* ‘cultivate’ and *tə* ‘give’ while that of the second set are *kpé* ‘plant’ and *tə* ‘give’. It entails going to cultivate a farm for someone by planting cocoa and coffee. Example 1080 may also have a substitutive interpretation depending on the context where the task of cultivating the farm is done on behalf of the person. Example 1081 involves the serial verbs *fi* ‘take’ and *tə* ‘give’. It is a combination of the manipulative and dative functions. The manipulative task is indicated with the verb *fi* while the dative task is indicated with the verb *tə*. In this case, the verb *fi* is duplicated due to the speaker’s idiolect.

Another verb that has dative function is the verb *té* ‘show’. It implies demonstrating a task for someone. This is illustrated in:

1082)	nya	minla		miə	məələkə			
	nyá	mì=	n-	lá	míə	mà=	á-	lókà
	3SG.PN	1SG.NOM=	EMPH	want	1SG.COMP	1SG.NOM=	PROSP	reveal
	n̄te		fə	mə	nə			.
	n̄=	té	fə	mó	nó			
	1SG.NOM=	show	2SG.ACC	like this	really			
	‘That is what I really want to reveal to you like this’							(History_amankrado 1.2)

1083)	nya eso	bənlə		kasə	buləkə	kate	fə	
	nyá ésô	bò=	n-	lé	kàsô	bo-	lókà	kà-
	therefore	1PL.NOM=	EMPH	hold	down	NMLZ	remove	INF
	nə						show	2SG.ACC
	nó							
	really							
	‘That is why we were really explaining it to you’							(Punishment 19.2)

Examples 1082 and 1083 have the serial verbs *lókà* ‘remove’ and *té* ‘show’. The serial verb construction in (1082) is within a complementizer clause while that of

Comparative constructions in Sekpele require a serial verb construction. They are used in relation to comparing properties and qualities of entities, and to compare the performance of a task between entities. The number of verbs involved in the construction is limited to two and they are usually juxtaposed to each other. The first verb denotes the property or action while the comparative verb *sɔ* ‘surpass’ is the second verb. The standard of comparison occurs as the object of the verb *sɔ* while the element of comparison occurs as the subject of the construction. This is illustrated in:

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The property verbs in comparison in examples 1084, 1085, and 1086 are *tè* ‘know’, *kúló* ‘become tall’, and *yí* ‘know’ respectively. The verbs *tè* and *yí* are nonstative and stative respectively. In both cases, they are used in relation to the knowledge of wisdom. The comparison in (1084) is between two groups. The standard of comparison in (1085) and (1086) is the chief. In (1085) the subject is taller than the chief while the subject is wiser than the chief in (1086).

Sekpele does not have a distinct way to express superlatives. The verb *só* is used for both comparative and superlative. When two elements are involved, a comparative interpretation is given to the construction. On the other hand, a superlative interpretation is implied when multiple elements are involved. A superlative interpretation also applies to constructions whose standard of comparison is not indicated. This is illustrated in:

1087) *wə nso bukulo kenke*
wê ñ= só bo- kúló kénké
 3SG.PN REL= surpass NMLZ become tall completely
 ‘He is the tallest’ (Miscellaneous 6.1)

1088) *wə nso kitikpo kenke*
wê ñ= só kítíkpo kénké
 3SG.PN REL= surpass short completely
 ‘He is the shortest’ (Miscellaneous 9.1)

1089) *wə ku okaa , beyifo kplikplikpli nso*
wê kú óká = bà= yífó kplíkplíkplí ñ= só
 3SG.PN and chief =TOP 3PL.NOM= make near REL= surpass
mó
mê
 1SG.PN
 ‘Him and the chief, they are closer to each other than me’ (King_making 10.2)

The property of comparison in examples 1087 and 1088 is *kúló* ‘tall’ and *kítíkpo* ‘short’ respectively. The property verb in (1087) has been nominalized while that of

(1087) is an ideophone. The comparative construction is emphasised or reiterated with the adverb *kénké*. In example 1089, there are three entities being compared. The speaker is comparing the closeness of a third party to the chief to that of his. The relationship between the speaker and the chief is very close but that of the third party and the chief surpass his.

The superlative relation can be negated. The negative marker is attached to the property verb. This is illustrated in:

1090)	wə	dimenkulə					nso	kenke	
	wə	lè =	n-	à-	n-	kúló	h =	só	kénké
	3SG.PN	REL =	NEG	PFV	NEG	become tall	REL =	become more	all
	‘He is not the tallest’								(Miscellaneous 10.1)

1091)	wə	lenyi		kobe	nso		kenke
	wê	lè =	n-	yí	kòbé	h =	só
	3SG.PN	REL =	NEG	know	wisdom	REL =	become more
	‘He is the dumbest’						all
	(Miscellaneous 11.1)						

Sekpele has verbs or verb particles that are used to express equality in comparison. They are *kàtê* ‘be equal’ and *fê* ‘be like’. The verb *kàtê* can be used independently of the quality of comparison if it could be deduced from context. This is illustrated in:

1092)	bakate	
	bá =	kàtê
	3PL.NOM.PST =	be equal
	‘They are equals’ (Verbs 292.1)	

1093)	okateko		oka		əmə
	ó =	kàtê	-kó	ó-	*ká á- mó
	3SG.NOM.PST =	be equal	ASSOC	NCL1	chief CL1 the
	‘He equals the chief’ (Verbs 293.1)				

1098)	unyi			kobe	fe	oka		əmə	
	ò=	n-	yí	kòbé	fè	ó-	*ká	á-	mó
	3SG.NOM=	NEG	know	wisdom	like	NCL1	chief	CL1	the
	‘He isn’t as wise as the chief’						(Miscellaneous 8.1)		

The property verbs in examples 1096 and 1097 is *kúló* ‘tall’ which is followed by the verb particle. Example 1097 also has the negative marker attached to the property verb. Example 1096 show that the subject is equal to the chief in terms of height while 1097 is the opposite. The property verb in 1098 is *yí* ‘know’ which is negated. The clause states that the subject is not as wise as the chief.

10.1.1.1.5 Aspectual SVCs

In Sekpele, some verbs can be used to convey aspectual meanings (see §8.1 and §8.2). They form a serial verb construction with other verbs. They may occur either as the first or final verb in the series. Verbs which occur first in the series include the verb *síngli* ‘return’ for iterative aspect and the verb *sù* ‘go’ for prospective aspect. In Sekpele, the deictic verbs *bó* ‘come’ and *sù* ‘go’ co-occur with the prospective morpheme *á-* to indicate the prospect of an action or state of affairs occurring in the imminent future. The verbs *bó* and *sù* occur in distinct syntactic constructions. The former occurs in a periphrastic construction involving a nominalized verb complement whereas the latter occurs with other verbs in a serial-verb construction. This is illustrated in:

- 1099) **muusingli** **nkpr** **kato** **kǎ** **seke** **seke**
mò= **ó-** **sínklì** **h=** **kpr** **kàtô** **kǎ** **séké** **séké**
 1SG.NOM= FUT return 1SG.NOM= scrape top of CL9.DEF few few
ibə **kasə** .
è= **bá** **kàsô**
 3SG.NOM= come down
 ‘I will scrape the top again bit by bit so that it will come down’ (Pottery 190.1)

- 1100) **ebotakasə** **nya** , **esingli** **awǎ**
à= **bó-** **tákà** **-sə** **nyá** **à=** **sínklì** **à-** **wǎ**
 2SG.NOM FUT rise CAUS 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM return 2SG.NOM cook
nya **tsya** **ko** **nnuəbi** **si** **yɔɔbo** **lə**
nyá **tsyâ** **kò** **ń-** ***nùəbí** **sí** **yò=** **ó-** **bó** **lá**
 3SG.ACC too then NCL10 oil still 3SG.NOM= FUT get out LOC
nya **əsua** **biom** .
nyá **əsúə** **bìòm**
 3SG.POSS body again
 ‘You will put it back on fire, then oil will get out of it again’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.5)

- 1101) **weesu** **oyimr** **kamə**
wà= **á-** **sù** **ò=** **yímì** **kàmó**
 3SG.NOM= PROSP go 3SG.NOM chew rice
 ‘He is going to eat rice’

- 1102) **meesu** **nwǎ** **lesa**
mà= **á-** **sù** **h=** **wǎ** **lèsá**
 1SG.NOM= PROSP go 1SG.NOM cook thing
 ‘I am going to cook food’

Examples 1099 and 1100 express iterative aspect while 1101 and 1102 express prospective aspect. Example 1099 has the serial verbs *sínklì* ‘return’ and *kpr* ‘scrape’ while 1100 has the verbs *sínklì* ‘return’ and *wǎ* ‘cook’. In both cases, the verb *sínklì* precedes the other verbs. Likewise, 1101 has the serial verbs *sù* ‘go’ and *yímì* ‘chew’ while 1102 has the verbs *sù* ‘go’ and *wǎ* ‘cook’. The verb *sù* is marked with the prospective marker and the entire verbal word expresses prospective aspect. It precedes the other verbs.

Another aspectual element that occurs first in a series is the continuative verb *sí* ‘still’. It is the only verbal element that has completely grammaticalized into an aspectual element. It is possible it could have been derived from the verb *sí* ‘sit/dwell’. Evidence of it been derived from a verb is provided by the fact that it behaves just like any verb. It can take all verbal affixes including subject pronominals, marked for tense and aspect, and it can be negated. This is illustrated in:

- 1103) *mòmó bensi awã* .
 mòmó *bà=* *n-* *sí* *à-* *wã*
 now 3PL.NOM= NEG still SCR cook
 ‘Now they still don’t cook it’ (Buying_name 31.6)
- 1104) *bəə bensi le boya eso* ,
bəə *bà=* *n-* *sí* *lé* *bó-* *yà* *ésò*
 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= NEG still hold NMLZ buy therefore
bensi *le* *boto* .
bà= *n-* *sí* *lé* *bó-* *tò*
 3PL.NOM= NEG still hold NMLZ mould
 ‘They said that they are not buying anymore therefore they said they are not moulding it anymore’ (Pottery 57.2)

Examples 1103 and 1104 are in present and present progressive respectively. They are also marked for negation which is marked on *sí*. In (1103) the verb *wã* ‘cook’ only bears the subject cross reference (SCR) marker which is co-referential to the subject carried by *sí*. In most cases the aspectual verb *sí* can be the element that carries all the verbal prefixes while the subsequent verb is without any verb affix as in (1104). This is further illustrated in:

1105)	bensi			tɔno	bə̀	udi		seka	
	bá=	n-	sí	tónò	báà	ò=	dí	sé-	*ká
	3PL.NOM.PST=	NEG	still	agree	3PL.COMP	3SG.NOM=	inherit	NCL11	chief
	itsyise	ɔnlɛ				mə		bote	
	ítsyisé	ò=	n-	lé		mó		bò-	té
	because	3SG.NOM=	NEG	hold		3PL.ACC		NMLZ	show
	bøyenko			.					
	bo-	yé	-n-	-kó					
	NMLZ	walk	LIG	ASSOC					
	‘They still didn’t agree that he become the chief anymore because he was unable to lead them’								
	(History amankrado 3.115)								

1106) **ənni** **mimi** **biə** **buensi** **nə**
 è = n- ní mímí bíð **bò =** á- n- sí nè
 3SG.NOM = NEG be 2PL.PN 2PL.COMP 1PL.NOM = HAB NEG still drink
ketu to ntu ?
 kètù tò nítù
 stream POSS water
 ‘Aren't you people who said that we shouldn't drink stream water’ (Pottery 138.1)

In examples 1105 and 1106, the verbs *tsənə* ‘agree’ and *nə* ‘drink’ follow the aspectual particle *sí* and in both cases they are without any verbal affixes. The aspectual particle *sí* can also have an iterative interpretation especially with future and irrealis moods. This is illustrated in:

1107)	biusi			bekpadi		mi		betidi		klokoto
	bè=	ó-	sí	bè=	kpádí	mí	bà-	*tídi		klókótó
	2PL.NOM=	FUT	still	2PL.NOM=	call	2PL.POSS	NCL2	person		piece
	klokoto	klokoto	bisiə		biləka		etiki		ǝ	
	klókótó	klókótó	bè=	sís	bè=	lókə	a-	*tikí	ǝ	
	piece	piece	2PL.NOM=	sit	2PL.NOM=	reveal	NCL6	word	CL6.DEF	
	‘You will still call your people piece by piece and sit to reveal the message’									
	(History amankrado 11.10)									

- 1108) **nyafěě** **buusi** **balə** **buləkə**
 nyáfěě **bò=** **ó-** **sí** **bà=** **lə** **bò-** **lókə**
 then **3PL.NOM=** **FUT** **still** **3PL.NOM=** **repair** **NMLZ** **remove**
iyifo **kunklu kunklu nə** .
 è= yífó kúnklú kúnklú ná
 3SG.NOM= do round round really
 ‘Then they will repair and shape it again for it to really become round’ (Pottery 53.4)

When the verb **sí** stands alone without any verbal affixes, it could be seen as performing an adverbial role in the clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1109) **nnuəbi** **si** **yəbbo** **lə** **nya** **əsua** **biom** .
 ní- *núəbí **sí** **yò=** **ó-** **bó** **lá** **nyá** **əsúə** **bíòm**
 NCL10 oil **still** **3SG.NOM=** **FUT** **get out** **LOC** **3SG.POSS** **body** **again**
 ‘Oil will get out of it again’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.5)

- 1110) **etiki** **bamba** **si** **ekpe** ?
 à- *tíkí **bàmbà** **sí** **è=** **kpé**
 NCL6 word another **still** **3SG.NOM=** **exist**
 ‘Is there anything to say?’ (Naming_ceremony 35.1)

There are verbs that occur in the final position in the series and they include the verb **nyə** ‘see’ for experiential aspect and the verb **ló** ‘be finish’ for completive aspect.

This is illustrated in:

- 1111) **əbusu** [**amedife**] **ənyə** ?
á= **bò-** **sù** **á=** **nyə**
2SG.NOM.PST **ANT** **go** **2SG.NOM.PST** **see**
 ‘Have you been to the cemetery before?’ (Pottery 109.1)
- 1112) **tə** **wə** **nkə** **uudi** [**ten** **million**]
tə **wə** **ńkə** **ó=** **ò-** **dí**
ask **3SG.ACC** **that** **3SG.NOM.PST=** **ANT** **win**
uunyə ?
ó= **ò-** **nyə**
3SG.NOM.PST= **ANT** **see**
 ‘Ask him if he had ever won ten million before?’ (Pottery 256.2)

1113)	ofo		wə		diyo		eto		kayo
	ó=		fó		wá		lè-		*yó
	3SG.NOM.PST=		pay		3SG.POSS		NCL5		house
							POSS		debt
	olosə								
	ó=		lò		-sə				
	3SG.NOM.PST=		be finish		CAUS				
	'He has finished paying for his house'								(Verbs 483.1)

1114)	la	bato	ola		mfó	balosə		la	,
	lá	bá=		tó	ólá	m̩fó	bá=		lò
	if	3PL.NOM.PST=		throw	prayer	there	3PL.NOM.PST=		be finish
									CAUS
	boola			ubuki		bala		kɔtɔ	komə
	bò=		ó-	là	ò-	*bùkí	bà=		là
	3PL.NOM=		FUT	cut	NCL1	animal	3PL.NOM=		cut
									NCL7
									blood
									CL7
									the
	'If they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood'								

Examples 1111 and 1112 express experiential aspect. Example 1111 has the serial verbs *sù* 'go' and *nyə* 'see' while those of 1112 are *dí* 'win' and *nyə* 'see'. The experiential aspect is expressed by the verb *nyə* which occurs as the final verb. Examples 1113 and 1114 on the other hand express completive aspect. Example 1113 has the serial verb *fó* 'pay' and *lò* 'be finish' while 1114 has the verb *tó ólá* 'pray' and *lò* 'be finish'. The verb expressing the completive aspect is the verb *lò* which occurs as the final verb.

The inceptive, pausative/cessative and progressive/continuative aspects are not expressed by serial verb constructions. They are expressed by periphrastic constructions involving the verbs *tsyínkó* 'start', *yè* 'stop' and *lé* 'hold' respectively (see §8.2). Table 10.2 shows aspectual verbs in Sekpele and their position within a clause:

- 1116) **lə akpe** **lə okpe** **mə eboso**
 lə á= kpé lə ò- *kpé má à= bó- só
 if 2SG.NOM.PST put LOC NCL3 bowl like this 2SG.NOM FUT beat
aba kenke
 à= bá kénké
 2SG.NOM break completely
 ‘If you put it in a bowl like this, you will beat and break it into pieces’ (Soap_making 27.2)

- 1117) **akpakpa mfó la** , **boola** **ubuki** **bakpo**
 ákpäkpà m̀fó lá b̀d= ó- là ò- *bùkí bà= kpó
 immediately there TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM= pour
fə .
 fə
 2SG.ACC
 ‘Immediately right there, they will cut the throat of an animal before you’ (King_making 2.31)

Example 1115 has two sets of serial verbs. However, the first set is of interest in this section. It consists of the verbs *bé* ‘come’, *tá* ‘shoot’ and *lò* ‘kill’. The actions of the two verbs *bé* and *tá* result in the event of the verb *lò*. As a result of the shooting of the pregnant woman, they kill her. Example 1116 on the other hand, has the serial verbs *só* ‘beat’ and *bá* which also constitutes a resultant event. The act of beating something results in you breaking it completely. Likewise, example 1117 has the serial verbs *là* ‘cut’ and *kpó* ‘pour’. In this case, they will slaughter the animal and pour its blood before the chief to swear an oath. The slaughtering of the animal results in its blood being poured on the ground.

10.1.1.1.7 Posture SVCs

Posture SVCs involve the use of a posture verb to describe the position of entities. Just like most SVCs, the posture verb may occur either as the first or final verb in the series. The orientation of the verb determines whether the position of an entity precedes or follows the performance of the other tasks in the series. If the posture

verb precedes other verbs, then it implies that the entity assumed that posture before the other tasks were performed. On the other hand, if the posture verb follows the other verbs in the series, then it implies that the entity performed the preceding tasks to arrive at the posture as in (1119), or the entity was acted upon to be in that posture as in (1118):

1118) **nya booyani fə balabesə mfó .**
 nyá bò= ó- yàní fə bà= lábé -sə m̀fó
 then 3PL.NOM= FUT abandon 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= lie CAUS there
 ‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’ (Punishment 9.1)

1119) **obe usu təkə lə letsya əsuə**
 ó= bé ó= sù təkə lə létsyá əsúə
 3SG.NOM.PST= climb up 3SG.NOM.PST= go be on LOC roof top of
 ‘He climbed onto the roof’ (Verbs 47.1)

1120) **lə eedi etiki lə awǝ əsuə , lee fə**
 lə à= á- dí à- *tíkí lə à- *wǝ əsúə léé fə
 if 2SG.NOM HAB eat NCL6 word LOC NCL6 nose top of or 2SG.POSS
etiki memyifo [sound] bæ abo
 à- *tíkí n- à- n- yífó bəə à= bó
 NCL6 word NEG PFV NEG do 3PL.COMP 2SG.NOM get out
ənyə edi etiki utidi no la ,
 à= nyé à- dí à- *tíkí ò- *tídi nò lá
 2SG.NOM stand 2SG.NOM eat NCL6 word NCL1 person hear TOP
bəmbə fə bofo .
 bà= n- bó fə bó- fə
 3PL.NOM= NEG come 2SG.ACC NMLZ accept
 ‘If you nasalize your speech, or your speech isn't sound such that you get out and speak for a person to hear, they won't accept you’ (King_making 2.24)

Example 1118 has the serial verbs *yàní* ‘abandon’ and *lábé* ‘lie’. The posture verb *lábé* occurs as the final verb and it implies that the object was abandoned to be in a lying posture. Likewise, example 1119 has the serial verbs *bé* ‘climb’, *sù* ‘go’ and *təkə* ‘be on’. The posture verb *təkə* occurs as the final verb with the verbs *bé* and *sù* preceding it. This implies that the subject performed the task of climbing and going

in order to be on top of the roof. Example 1120 on the other hand has the serial verbs *bɔ* ‘get out’, *nyɔ* ‘stand’ and *dí ètikí* ‘speak’. The posture verb *nyɔ* is in medial position which implies that the task of getting out precedes the act of standing and the act of standing precedes the event of speaking.

10.1.2 Overlapping constructions

An overlapping construction is one in which the second subject is co-referential with a non-subject argument of the first verb or with the situation characterised by the first verb. It involves a subject switch-function where each verb takes a non-identical subject unlike serial verbs where the subjects are identical. Overlapping constructions are different from consecutive constructions such that the second subject is co-referential with a non-subject argument in the first clause while the latter has nothing to do with the first clause. The main features of this construction are as follows:

- It consists of two clauses juxtaposed to each other without any overt connector;
- The subject argument of each clause must be obligatorily expressed;
- The subject argument of the second clause is co-referential with either a non-subject argument of the first clause or with the situation characterised by the first clause or it indexes the spatio-temporal features of the situation represented in the first clause;
- Each clause can be independently negated;
- Each clause can be marked for its aspect and modality values, however they should share the same temporal frame or time value;
- The individual verbs in the clauses can function as independent verbs in simple mono-verbal clauses.

Overlapping constructions due to their switch function are linked to a number of constructions with causative semantics. This includes overlapping causative (a.k.a causative serialisation) and overlapping cause-effect constructions (Aikhenvald 2006:14; Matthews 2006:75). These constructions are found in Sèkpele in addition to overlapping dative construction.

10.1.2.1 Overlapping causative constructions

Overlapping causative constructions are asymmetrical constructions with a small set of causative verbs occurring as the first verb. These causative verbs all exist as main verbs in their own right. The other verbs within the construction could be any verb within the open class of verbs. Sèkpele has two causative verbs *wə́* ‘cause’ and *tə́* ‘cause’ which are used in this construction. This is illustrated in:

- 1121) *fěě fuuwə́ wə́ asə́ ɛbə́*
fě́é fò= ó- wə́ wə́ à= sɔ́ è= bó
 before 2SG.NOM= FUT cause 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM beat 3SG.NOM= get out
okuaye nə .
òkuàyé nɔ́
 soap really
 ‘Then you will beat it into balls to really come out as soap’ (Soap_making 25.6)

- 1122) *wə́ luutə́ betidi bote bǽ nyə mə́*
*wə́ lè= ó- tə́ bà- *tídi bó- tè bóə́ nyə́ mɔ́*
 3SG.PN REL= FUT cause NCL2 person NMLZ know 3PL.COMP see like this
nle bǽ
ɲ= lé bó
 REL= hold come
 ‘It is him who will cause the people to know that this is what is coming’ (King_making 14.13)

1123)	wə	luutə		betidi		bate		bəə	nyə
	wê	lè=	ó-	tá	bà-	*tídi	bà-	tè	bəə
	3SG.PN	REL=	FUT	cause	NCL2	person	3PL.NOM	know	3PL.COMP
	mə	nle		bə					
	mó	ñ=	lé	bá					
	like this	REL=	hold	come					
	‘It is him who will cause the people to know that this is what is coming’								

Examples 1121 has the serial verbs *wə* 'cause', *sə* 'beat' and *bə* 'get out'. The verbs *wə* and *sə* constitute the first clause whose subject is the second person singular. The second clause has the verb *bə* with the third singular pronominal as its subject. The subject is also co-referential to the object *wə* '3SG.ACC' of the first clause. Example 1122 has the causative verb *tá* 'cause' and the stative verb *tè* 'know'. The verb *tè* in this case is non-finite however it can occur with the 3PL pronominal and be co-referential with the noun *betidi* 'people' as in 1123. The antecedent cause could also be situational such that a situation is said to cause an event to occur. This is illustrated in:

1124)	nya	ni	iitə			baataka				
	nyá	ní	é=		à-	tá	bá=		à-	tákà
	3SG.PN	be	3SG.NOM.PST=		PFV	cause	3PL.NOM.PST=		PFV	rise
	beedu			nə						
	bá=		à-	dú	nó					
	3PL.NOM.PST=		PFV	leave	really					
	'That is what had caused them to rise and leave' (History_amankrado 15.15)									

1125)	sikpitete	əətə		weetsyetsyi		kedu				
	sikpitété	à-	á-	tá	wà=	á-	tseyétyí	kà-	dú	
	fear	SCR	HAB	cause	3SG.NOM=	HAB	run	INF	leave	
	'Fear causes him to run away' (Verbs 479.1)									

The situation in example 1124 is in focus and is co-referential to the subject of the verb *tá* 'cause'. The object of the verb *tá* is omitted however its anaphor is the

subject of the serial verbs *tákà* ‘rise’ and *dú* ‘leave’. In (1125), *sikpitété* ‘fear’ is the situation that cause the event *tsyétsyí* ‘run’ and *dú* ‘leave’ to occur.

10.1.2.2 Overlapping cause-effect constructions

Overlapping cause-effect constructions are symmetrical constructions with all verbs involved in the construction belonging to the open class of verbs. Overlapping cause-effect constructions are similar to the resultant serial verb constructions in §10.1.1.1.6 such that the first sub-event is the caused clause while the second is the resultant clause. The difference between the overlapping cause-effect and the resultant serial verbs is that the former has a switch-function where the object of the first event is the subject of the second. This is illustrated in:

- 1126) kemi eboye bebe biəmə alakasə
kəmí à= bó- yé bè- *bé bíə- mə à= lákàsə
then 2SG.NOM FUT filter NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the 2SG.NOM dry
bekwe
bè= kwé
CL12.NOM= become dry
‘Then you will filter the palm kernel and dry them to become dry’ (Palm_kernel_oil 2.5)
- 1127) nya muutsyue kolo kuəmə kudu
nyá m̀ò= ó- tsyúé k̀ò- *ĺó kúə- mə k̀o= dù
then 1SG.NOM= FUT arrange NCL7 soda ash CL7 the CL7.NOM= drip
‘Then I will arrange the soda ash to drip’ (Soap making 12.3)

- 1128) *nyafěě fuufi ubisia əmə ətəkə ateke*
nyáfěě fɔ̌= ó- fí ù-bìsíà á- má à= tóká àtèké
 then 2SG.NOM= FUT take NCL3-palm oil CL3 the 2SG.NOM put on stove
alɔ utə bokpe itu ebe
à= lɔ ùtə bo- kpé è= tú à= bé
 2SG.NOM repair fire NMLZ put 3SG.NOM= be boil 2SG.NOM be cook
bobe
bò= bé
 CL10.NOM= be cook
 ‘Then you will put the palm oil on fire and rekindle the fire to boil and cook’ (Palm_oil 16.4)

The antecedent clause in example 1126 has the serial verbs *yé* ‘filter’ and *lákàsə* ‘to dry’ and they serve as the caused event. The verb *lákàsə* has the causative morpheme *-sə* however the entire word is lexicalized since the root *lákà* is meaningless if used in isolation. The effect clause consists of the verb *kwé* ‘become dry’ whose subject is of CL12 and it is co-referential to *běbě* ‘palm kernel’, the object of the caused event. The verb *kwé* compared to *lákà* does occur in isolation and can take the causative morpheme. Likewise example 1127 has the verb *tsyúé* ‘arrange’ in the caused event while that of the effect event has the verb *dù* ‘drip’ whose subject is co-referential to *kòlò* ‘soda ash’, the object of the caused event. Example 1128 has three sub-events each of which constitutes a serial verb construction. The first clause is the caused event and it has the verbs *fí* ‘take’ and *tóká* ‘put on’ with *ùbìsíà* ‘palm oil’ as the theme. The original word for palm oil in Sèkpele is *ínùè* which is of CL10. The word *ùbìsíà* is the metaphoric form of *ínùè* and it is a compound of the words *ùbì* ‘child’ and *síà* ‘red’. The medial clause consists of the verbs *lɔ* ‘repair’ and *kpé* ‘put’ while the effect clause consists of the verbs *tú* ‘be boil’ and *bé* ‘be cook’. In the effect clause we can observe that the speaker tried to correct herself by repeating the verb *bé* with the appropriate class.

She made reference to CL10 which corresponds to *ḥnùḏ* instead of *ḥbīṣā* which is of CL3.

10.1.2.3 Overlapping dative constructions

Overlapping dative constructions involve a situation where a dative entity performs a task based on how they have benefited from an antecedent event. Antecedent events may involve the verb *tɔ* ‘give’ and *tɛ* ‘show’ or a series of verbs with dative interpretation in Sekpele. This is illustrated in:

- 1129) **wəə̀tə** **kusu meesu** **mfõ**
wà= **á-** **té** **kùsú mà=** **á-** **sù m̀fõ**
 3SG.NOM= HAB give road 1SG.NOM= HAB go there
 ‘He allows me to go there (lit He gives me road to go there)’ (Verbs 436.1)

1130) **alebe** **lə** **bakpadi** **əkpəfi** **nko** **la** ,
 álébé ló bá= kpádí à- *kpəfí níkò lá
 however if 3PL.NOM.PST= call NCL6 child like that TOP
buutə **mə** **lesa** **ně** **bedi** .
bò= **ó-** **té** **mə** **lè-** ***sá** **ně** **bà=** **dí**
 3PL.NOM= FUT give 3PL.ACC NCL5 thing CL5.DEF 3PL.NOM= eat
 ‘However if they call the children like that, they will give them the food to eat’
 (naming_ceremony 4.4)

1131) **osani** **əmə** **àte** **bò** **kakamə busu**
 ò- *sàní á- mó à- té bò kàkámə bó= sù
 NCL1 man CL1 the PFV show 1PL.ACC place 1PL.NOM.PST= go
 ‘The man showed us the place and we went there’ (Verb_morphology 20.1)

1132) **buutsyi** **befi** **besuko**
bò= **ó-** **tsyí** **bà=** **fí** **bà=** **sù** **-kó**
 3PL.NOM= FUT carry 3PL.NOM= take 3PL.NOM= go ASSOC
untsya **luufi** **kesu** **kefi** **kedi** .
 ò= -n- tsyâ lè= ó- fí kà- sù kà- fí kà- dí
 3SG.NOM= LIG too REL= FUT take INF go INF take INF eat
 ‘They will carry it to him, he too will take it away to go and eat’ (King making 14.21)

Examples 1129 and 1130 have the dative verb *tɔ* ‘give’ occurring as the antecedent event. In (1129), the beneficiary was given the permission to go to a place while in (1130), the children were given food to eat. The subject of the verb *dí* ‘eat’ is co-referential to the dative *mɔ* ‘3PL.ACC’. Example 1131 has the dative verb *té* ‘show’. The subject of the antecedent clause shows the beneficiary a place to go. The subject of the verb *sù* ‘go’ is co-referential to the dative *bò* ‘1PL.ACC’. Example 1132 does not have a dative verb. It consists of two sets of serial verb clauses the first of which constitutes a dative interpretation. The beneficiary in turn performs the tasks in the second clause.

10.1.3 Consecutive constructions

Consecutive constructions are made up of two or more verbal clauses and together they represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time. The individual clauses can be marked for different aspect and modality. Each VP can be independently negated. One can distinguish different types of consecutive constructions. In one type, the VPs in the construction typically have the same subject and the subsequent VPs are marked such that they signal sequentiality or dependency on the first VP. The clauses may consist of individual verbs or serial verbs. This is illustrated in:

1133)	məmə	tsya	bəbə		bala		umə	
	mámə	tsyâ	bá =	bó	bá =	là	ó-	*mè
	3PL.PN	too	3PL.NOM.PST =	come	3PL.NOM.PST =	cut	NCL3	town
	baakpo			Akontokrom				
	bá =	á-	kpó	Akontokrom				
	3PL.NOM.PST =	HAB	call	Akontokrom				
	‘They too create a town they called Akontokrom’				(History_amankrado 3.15)			

- 1134) **nya se oka libəə , bæbə**
 nyá sé ó- *ká lè= bá = bá= à- bá
 then when NCL1 chief REL= come =TOP 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come
bəmuə wə baafo seka
 bá= múá wə bá= à- fò sé- *ká
 3PL.NOM.PST= catch 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV collect NCL11 chief
sið lə wə kəni .
 sið lə wə kə- *nî
 CL11.DEF LOC 3SG.POSS NCL7 arm
 ‘Then when the chief came, they had caught him and collected the chieftaincy from his hand’
 (History_amankrado 3.109)

- 1135) **kase beetsyi ni**
 kàsé bá= à- tsyí ní
 as 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV carry CL5.ACC
bantəŋko baayo mfó
 bà= n- tó -n- -kó bá= à- yó m̀fó
 3PL.NOM= EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV reach there
mə .
 ḿó
 like this
 ‘As they carried it, they were going and they reached there’ (Buying_name 34.5)

Example 1133 has two clauses, the first of which is a serial verb construction. The first clause has the serial verbs *bə* ‘come’ and *lə* ‘cut’ while the second clause has the verb *kəpó* ‘call’. The first clause involves the establishment of a town while the second involves giving it a name. The clause is marked for past tense while the second is marked for past habitual aspect. Example 1134 has three events however the last two are of concern to us. They involve catching a chief indicated by the verbs *bə* ‘come’ and *múá* ‘catch’ while the subsequent clause involves collecting the chieftaincy from him which is also indicated by the verb *fò* ‘collect’. Both clauses are in the past perfect. Example 1135 likewise has two clauses the first of which has the serial verbs *tsyí* ‘carry’ and *tó* ‘go towards’. The second clause has the verb *yó* ‘reach’. Each of the clauses can stand alone in their own right.

The second type of consecutive construction is the hortative construction. In these constructions, the different components exhibit properties of independent clauses and they may be just juxtaposed or linked by a connector. Sekpele employs the hortative particle *lɔ* in hortative constructions. The subject of each component clause is obligatorily expressed, but there need not be any shared arguments between the clauses in the construction. There are three types of consecutive hortative constructions in Sekpele: (1) same subjects; (2) inclusive subjects; and (3) exclusive subjects. The first type of consecutive hortative constructions involves a situation where the subject of subsequent clauses is the same as the first clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1136) **nya kama lɔ alosɔ lɔ ɛtəkɔ** ,
 nyá kámà lɔ á= lɔ -sɛ lɔ à= tákɛ
 3SG.POSS back if 2SG.NOM.PST be finish CAUS HORT 2SG.NOM put on
akpe utɛ ɛtəkɔ nnuɛ lɔ gaze , efi
 à= kpé ùtɛ à= tákɛ nnuɛ lɔ gázé à= fí
 2SG.NOM put fire 2SG.NOM put on palm oil LOC steel pot 2SG.NOM take
bebe biəmɛ akpo .
 bè- *bé bíá- mɔ à= kpó
 NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the 2SG.NOM pour
 ‘After you finish then you set fire, put palm oil in a steel pot, and pour the palm kernel into it’
 (Palm_kernel_oil 2.7)

- 1137) **əmbɛ bofo boyankli lɔ**
 à= n- bó bo- fó bo- yánkli lɔ
 2SG.NOM NEG come NMLZ be able NMLZ untie HORT
abɔ .
 à= bó
 2SG.NOM get out
 ‘You will not be able to untie and escape’ (Punishment 10.2)

- 1138) **fə** **siə kpoo lə** **akabe** .
fə **síá** **kpóó** **lá** **à=** **kà-** **bè**
 2SG.PN sit quiet HORT 2SG.NOM PROG see
 ‘You sit quietly and keep watching’ (Pottery 184.2)

Example 1136 has four events represented by four clauses which have the same subject. The first clause involves the verb *lò* ‘be finish’ which occurs in a conditional clause of finishing a task. The second clause involves the verb *kpé* ‘put’ and the event of setting fire. The third event involves the verb *tákə* ‘put on’ where palm oil is put in a steel pot and placed on fire. The final event involves the serial verbs *fí* ‘take’ and *kpó* where you pour palm kernel into the mix. Example 1137 has two clauses the first of which is a periphrastic construction of being able to untie a knot while the second clause involves the verb *bɔ* and the event of escaping. Both clauses have the same subject however only the first clause is negated. This supports the view that they are separate clauses. Likewise, example 1138 has two clauses with the same subject. The verbs involved are *síá* ‘sit’ and *bè* ‘see’ respectively.

In the second type, the referents of the subject of the first clause are included in the subject of the second clause or vice versa. This is illustrated in:

- 1139) **əmubə** **siə lə** **bokawee** ?
à= **n-** **ó-** **bé** **síá** **lá** **bò=** **kà-** **wé** **=**
 2SG.NOM NEG FUT come sit HORT 1PL.NOM= PROG carve =TOP
 ‘Won't you come and sit so we will be carving?’ (Pottery 147.1)
- 1140) **kokoko** **ehia** **bəə** **enii** **untsya**
kòkòkò **é=** **híá** **bóə** **èníí** **ò=** **-n-** **tsyâ**
 certainly 3SG.NOM.PST= need 3PL.COMP probably 3SG.NOM= LIG too
əbòke **fěě** **lə** **butsyue** .
à- **bó-** **kè** **fěě** **lá** **bò=** **tsyúé**
 SCR FUT exist before HORT 1PL.NOM= arrange
 ‘Certainly it is necessary that probably he too will be there before we plan’
 (King making 19.6)

1141) bookã			ntam	bətə		bətsyua
bò =	ó-	ká	ntám	bà =	tə	bà- tsyúá
3PL.NOM =	FUT	swear	oath	3PL.NOM =	give	NCL2 some
ofiani		umənka				
ò =	fíani	ó-	*mə	-n-	*ká	
3SG.NOM =	become	NCL1	town	LIG	chief	
‘They will swear an oath to themselves to become the town chief’						(King_making 4.1)

Examples 1139 and 1140 are cases where the subject of the first clause is included in the collective subject of the second clause. In (1139), the subject of the first clause is invited to come and sit so that they could both perform the task in the second clause. The first clause is also negated and in the future while the second clause is in the progressive aspect. Likewise, example 1140 states the necessity for the subject in the first clause to be present for the collective task of the second clause to be performed. However, example 1141 is the reversal where the subject of the second clause is included in the subject of the first clause. Another way to put it is that, a participant in the collective subject of the first clause is involved in the event of the second clause as the subject. In this case, the participants swear an oath to each other in the first clause and one of them becomes the chief of the town in the second clause. The hortative particle in example 1141 is omitted.

The third type of consecutive hortative is where the subjects of the clauses are mutually exclusive. The subjects are different and they perform different tasks. It is possible to have a switch-function of some sort. The subject of the first clause can become the object of the second clause. Likewise the object of the first clause can be the subject of the second clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1142) **nya eso** **mimbə** **oto** **eso**
 nyá ésô mî = n- bá ó- *tò ésò
 therefore 1SG.NOM = EMPH come NCL3 hometown therefore
muubə lə bekate mə
mò = ó- bá lə bè = kà- té mà
 1SG.NOM = FUT come HORT 2PL.NOM = PROG teach 1SG.ACC
 ‘That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me’
 (Punishment 20.1)

- 1143) **mookpadi** fə lə əbə
mò = ó- kpádí fə lə à = bá
 1SG.NOM = FUT call 2SG.ACC HORT 2SG.NOM come
 ‘I will call you to come’
 (Pottery 73.1)

- 1144) **enii** **manter** fə lə bayımı
 èníí má = n- téyí fə lə bà = yími
 probably 1SG.NOM.PST = NEG tell 2SG.ACC HORT 3PL.NOM = chew
 fə
 fə
 2SG.ACC
 ‘Probably I shouldn't have told you so they chew you’
 (Pottery 268.1)

Examples 1142, 1143 and 1144 have two clauses each. The subjects of each of the first clauses are different from the second clauses. In (1142), the subject of the first clause is **1SG** which is attached to the verb **bá** ‘come’ while the subject of the second clause is **2PL** which is attached to the verb **té** ‘teach’. The object of the second is also co-referential to the subject of the first clause. In (1143), the subject of the first clause is **1SG** which is attached to the verb **kpádí** ‘call’ while the subject of the second clause is **2SG** which is attached to the verb **bá** ‘come’. The subject of the second clause is also co-referential to the object of the first clause. However, in (1144), the subjects of the first and second clauses are **1SG** and **3PL**, and they are attached to the verbs **téyí** ‘tell’ and **yími** ‘chew’ respectively. Both clauses share the same object **fə** ‘2SG.ACC’.

It is possible to have a combination of both inclusive and exclusive subjects.

This is illustrated in:

1145)	fi	ɔkpɛ	mə	aboko	lə	nse	abe			
	fɪ	ò-	*kpé	mó	à=	bókó	lɔ́	̀n=	sè	à- *bé
	take	NCL3	bowl	there	2SG.NOM	bring	HORT	1SG.NOM=	pick	CL6 palmnut
	nkpo		bowa		budi					
	̀n=		kpó	bò=	wà	bò=	dí			
	1SG.NOM=		pour	1PL.NOM=	cook	1PL.NOM=	eat			
	‘Bring a bowl from over there so I pick palmnuts into it so we can cook and eat’									
	(Pottery 217.2)									

Example 1145 has three clauses. The first two clauses constitute an exclusive construction where their subjects are different. The subjects of the first and second clauses are **2SG** and **1SG** respectively. The third clause on the other hand constitutes an inclusive clause where the subjects of the first and second clauses are engaged in the performance of the task in the clause as a collective subject.

10.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause that functions as a core argument of a clause (Dixon 2006:4; Payne 1997:313). Noonan (2007:52) defines complementation as ‘a syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate’. Complement clauses can function as subject or object of a clause. Languages which do not have complement clauses may employ other strategies which include serial verb constructions, relative clauses, nominalizations and clauses linked together within a sentence. Clauses may be linked together by apposition, clause chaining or purposive linking. Languages which have complement clauses may also employ a combination of these strategies. Sekpele employs nominalization for subjects and complementation for objects. Complement clauses cannot occur in

subject position. The following are examples of nominalization and they can be represented as a possessive construction:

- 1146) **bolabe** **aleke** **itə** **ufimfi**
bò- **lábé** à- **lékè** è = **tó** **ùfimfi**
NMLZ **sleep** PFV be good 3SG.NOM = give sick person
‘Sleeping is good for the sick’ (Verbs 80.1)
- 1147) **wə** **bubə** **kedufə** **eyifo** **wə** **yanrı**
wé **bó-** **bé** **kà-** **dúfó** à- **yífó** **wə** **yànri**
3SG.POSS NMLZ **come** INF **arrive** PFV do 3SG.ACC surprise
‘His arrival surprised him’ (Verbs 477.1)
- 1148) **fə** **butu** **te** **ni** **be** ?
fə **bó-** **tú** **tè** **ní** **bé**
2SG.POSS NMLZ **uninstall** only be what
‘What will be your uninstallation exactly?’ (King_making 12.6)

Since this section is on complement clauses, I will discuss the use of complement clauses as objects of verb predicates. Complement clauses in Sèkpele are introduced by the complementizer **ńkə** ‘COMP’. The complementizer is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has a correspondent clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. This is illustrated in table 10.3:

Person	Complementizers	Clipped forms
1SG	mínkə	míə
2SG	fánkə	fǎə
3SG	wánkə/ónkə/ńkə	wǎə
1PL	bónkə	búə
2PL	bínkə	bíə
3PL	bánkə	bǎə

Table 10.3: Complementizers and their clipped forms

Although the complementizers correspond to the person and number of the subject, speakers may resort to **ńkə** as a default. This is illustrated in:

- 1149) **eso minto nkə lekpo kpe mfó lee ?**
 ésò mì= n- tò **ńkà** lèkpò kpé m̀fó léé
 therefore 1SG.NOM= EMPH ask that sea exist there or
 ‘Therefore I asked that is there any sea there?’ (Pottery 116.1)

- 1150) **buusi balo bakpadi wə**
 b̀ò= ó- sí bà= l̀ò bà= kpádí wə
 3PL.NOM= FUT still 3PL.NOM= repair 3PL.NOM= call 3SG.ACC
sinuəfə bə̀tə bote nkə
 se- *núà -fə bà= t́ó b́ó- tè **ńkà**
 CL11 two ORD 3PL.NOM= give NMLZ know that
bakabebe ubi .
 bà= kà- bébé ò- *bí
 3PL.NOM= PROG search NCL1 child
 ‘They will still call him again a second time to give knowledge that they should be searching for a child’ (King_making 12.3)

- 1151) **amante nkə mɔ tasi**
 á= n- à- n- tè **ńkà** ḿó= tásí
 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG know that 1SG.POSS= paternal aunt
uni ?
 ò= ní
 3SG.NOM= be
 ‘Don't you know that she is my paternal aunt?’ (Pottery 144.1)

Examples 1149, 1150 and 1151 have the default complementizer which does not correspond to the subject of the main clause. The subjects of 1149, 1150 and 1151 are 1SG, 3PL and 2SG respectively. Speakers may also resort to *bónkà* ‘3PL.COMP’ to express indefiniteness. In this case the complementizer also does not correspond to the subject. This is illustrated in:

- Examples 1152 and 1153 have *bónkə* as their complementizer which is 3PL; however, their subject is 3SG and 1PL respectively. The verbs for both examples are *té* ‘show’ and *tə kúsú* ‘permit’ which are manipulative verbs (see 10.2.3). *Tə kúsú* is a collocation of the verb *tə* ‘give’ and the noun *kúsú* ‘road’.

1154) fən̩kə yuuyifo be , fən̩kə be ?
fən̩kə yò = ó- yífo bé fən̩kə bé
2SG.COMP 3SG.NOM = FUT make what 2SG.COMP what
‘What did you say it will make, you said what?’ (Pottery 99.1)

- 1155) **nya eso miə ntu** .
 nyá ésô **míð** ntù
 therefore **1SG.COMP** water
 ‘That is why I said water’ (Soap_making 16.1)
- 1156) **elebəə** **buutə** **mə**
 é= **lè** **báə** **bò=** **ó-** **tá** **má**
 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= FUT give 3PL.ACC
esibu **nnye** **babloni** **bənkə** [amalgamation].
 à- *sibú ñnyè bà- *blóní **bənkə**
 NCL6 sub-group perhaps NCL2 white person **3PL.COMP**
 ‘It was necessary that they will have to give them ‘sub-groups’ perhaps what the white people
 call amalgamation’ (History_amankrado 3.17)

Examples 1154, 1155 and 1156 have the complementizer occurring as predicates in their own right. Example 1154 has the second person singular, 1155 has first person singular, and 1156 has third person plural as their subjects respectively. Examples 1154 and 1155 have the interpretation of ‘say’ while 1156, has the interpretation of ‘call’.

There is a restricted set of verbs which take complement clauses as their objects and they can be categorised into semantic classes of utterance, perception-cognition, manipulation, desiderative and modality. Detailed discussion of each semantic class is offered in the following sections.

10.2.1 Utterance

There are several verbs which fall into the category of utterance verbs. They include *téyí* ‘say/tell’, *kpádí* ‘call’, *tə* ‘ask’, *bé létsyá* ‘announce’ *lékə kəsó* ‘explain’, ‘promise’, *ká ntám* ‘swear an oath’. This is illustrated in:

- 1157) **ntɛɪ** **miə** **fookpo** **ntu** **lə** **ko**
ńí= **téyí mĩə** **fò=** **ó-** **kpó** **ńtù** **lá** **kó**
 1SG.NOM.PST= **say** 1SG.COMP 2SG.NOM= FUT pour water LOC CL7.ACC
 ‘I said that you will pour water into it’ (Soap_making 16.2)
- 1158) **banɛɪ** **fə** **bənkə** **baantsya**
bá= **n-** **téyí** **fə** **bónkə** **bà=** **á-** **n-** **tsyá**
 3PL.NOM.PST= NEG tell 2SG.ACC 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= HAB NEG assemble
kaka **betidi** **lə** **məmə** **ayo** **?**
kà- **kà** **bà-** ***tídi** **lá** **mámá** **à-** ***yó**
 INF insult NCL2 person LOC 3PL.POSS NCL6 house
 ‘Haven't they told you that they don't insult people in their houses?’ (Pottery 155.1)
- 1159) **nya** **boakpo** **bəə** **usiənam** **lee** [**caretaker**],
nyá **bó=** **á-** **kpó** **bəə** **ùsiənam** **léé**
 3SG.PN 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB call 3PL.COMP caretaker or
 ‘That we call 'usiənam' or caretaker’ (King_making 19.2)

Examples 1157, 1158 and 1159 have utterance verbs which take complement clauses as their object. Examples 1157 and 1158 have the verb *téí* which are glossed as ‘say’ and ‘tell’ respectively. The complementizer in (1157) is 1SG and that of (1158) is 3PL which are co-referential to the subject. Example 1159 on the other hand has the verb *kpó* ‘call’ whose subject is 1PL while the complementizer is 3PL which indicate indefiniteness.

10.2.2 Perception-cognition

Verbs of perception and cognition include *nyə* ‘see’, *bə* ‘look’, *nə* ‘hear’, *klómà* ‘remember’, *tàsúó* ‘forget’, *bù* ‘think’, *sùsù* ‘think’, *yí* ‘know’, *tè* ‘know/be aware’, *fò nə* ‘believe’, *nyə tsyà lèkpó* ‘recognise’. This is illustrated in:

- 1160) **elebæ** **babe** **bæ** **animi**
 é= **lè** **báð** **bà=** **bè** **báð** **á-** ***nimí**
 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= see 3PL.COMP NCL6 finger
ku akpa **kenke aflo** ?
 kú á- *kpà kénké à- fló
 and NCL6 leg all PFV become whole
 ‘It is necessary they see that all the fingers and legs are whole’ (King_making 2.13)

- 1161) **nkloma** **bænkə** **mimi** **nle** [**government**]
 í= **klómà** **bænkə** **mímí** **ñ=** **lé**
 1SG.NOM.PST= remember 3PL.COMP 2PL.PN RELPRO= hold
buyu **nə**
 bó- yù nó
 NMLZ steal really
 ‘I remembered that you have been really stealing from the government’ (Pottery 285.2)

- 1162) **bæbæ** **nyə** **bətsyə** **lekpo** **bænkə** **məmə**
 bá= **bá** **nyə** **bá=** **tsyə** **lèkpó** **bænkə** **mámá**
 3PL.NOM.PST= come find 3PL.NOM.PST= keep recognition 3PL.COMP 3PL.PN
ələkə **məmə** **otodi** **besu** **bakpe**
 à- **lákə** **mámá** **òtòdì** **bá=** **sù** **bá=** **kpé**
 PFV remove 3PL.POSS palm frond 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= put
 ‘They found out that they had removed their palm frond’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

Example 1160 has the verb **bè** ‘see’ which has the complement clause that immediately follows it as its object. Likewise, example 1161 has the verb **klómà** ‘remember’ while 1162, has the serial collocation **nyə tsyə lèkpó**. Both 1160 and 1162 have the complementizer corresponding to the subject. However, in example 1161, the subject is 1SG while the complementizer is 3PL indicating indefiniteness.

10.2.3 Manipulation

Verbs of manipulation include **tə** ‘give/cause/allow’, **té** ‘show’, **nyə** ‘stand/ensure/enforce’, and **tə kúsú** ‘permit’. This is illustrated in:

- 1163) **itə** **bəə** **bəbə** **ta**
é= **tá** **báə** **bá=** **bá** **tá**
 3SG.NOM.PST= **cause** 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM.PST= **come** **shoot**
boofonde **utsyuə** **balo**
bó= **ò-** ***fòndé** **ó-** **tsyúá** **bá=** **lò**
 1PL.POSS= NCL1 pregnant woman CL1 some 3PL.NOM.PST= **kill**
 ‘It caused a situation such that they shot and killed one of our pregnant women’
 (History_amankrado 1.9)

- 1164) **ete** **bənkə** **məmə** **ole** **ni** **wǎ**
é= **té** **bónkə** **mámə** **ó-** ***lè** **ní** **wǎ**
 3SG.NOM.PST= **show** 3PL.COMP 3PL.POSS NCL1 own be 3SG.REL.PRO
leblobe **nə** .
lè= **blóbè** **ná**
 REL= **with** **really**
 ‘It showed that theirs was that which had withered really’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

- 1165) **mə** **luunyə** **miə** **uyifo** **lə** **kusu əsuə**
mô **lè=** **ó-** **nyə** **míə** **ò=** **yífo** **lé** **kùsú** **əsúə**
 1SG.PN REL= **FUT** **stand** 1SG.COMP 3SG.NOM= **do** **LOC** **road** **body**
 ‘It is I who will ensure that he should do it the right way’ (King_making 10.6)

- 1166) **bəətə** **kúsu** **bəə** **besu** **ebutu** **lee**
bá= **à-** **tá** **kùsú** **báə** **bà=** **sù** **à-** ***bùtù** **léé**
 3PL.NOM.PST= **PFV** **give** **road** 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= **go** **NCL6** **bush** **or**
bake **kalebe** **fǎǎ**
bà= **kè** **kà-** ***lèbé** **fǎǎ**
 3PL.NOM= **exist** **NCL9** **place** **freely**
 ‘They have given them permit to go to the wilderness or live anywhere freely’
 (King_making 14.26)

Examples 1163-1166 involve manipulative verbs. The verbs are **tá** ‘cause’, **té** ‘show’, **nyə** ‘stand’ and **tá kùsú** ‘permit’. Examples 1163 and 1164 have the complementizer **bónkə** which implies indefiniteness. Examples 1165 and 1166 have the complementizer **míə** ‘1SG.COMP’ and **báə** ‘3PL.COMP’ which are co-referential to the subject of the main clause.

10.2.4 Desiderative

The Sekpele verbs of desire include *lá* ‘want/love/desire’, *bébé* ‘search/want/desire’, *bè kùsú* ‘hope’, *lé škwè* ‘crave’ and *tónò* ‘agree/accept’. This is illustrated in:

1167) **nya minla miə mæələkə**

nyá	mì=	n-	lá	míə	mà=	á-	lókə
3SG.PN	1SG.NOM=	EMPH	want	1SG.COMP	1SG.NOM=	PROSP	reveal
n̄te		fə	mə	nə			.
n̄=	té	fə	mə	nə			
1SG.NOM=	show	2SG.ACC	like this	really			

‘That is what I really want to reveal to you like this’ (History_amankrado 1.2)

1168) **bensi tɔnɔ bæə udi seka**

bà=	n-	sí	tónò	bəə	ò=	dí	sé-	*ká
3PL.NOM=	NEG	still	agree	3PL.COMP	3SG.NOM=	inherit	NCL11	chief
itsyise	onle				mə		bote	
ítsyísé	ò=	n-	lé		mə		bò-	tè
because	3SG.NOM=	NEG	hold		3PL.ACC		NMLZ	know
bøyenko								.
bo-	yé	-n-	-kó					
NMLZ	walk	LIG	ASSOC					

‘They still didn’t agree that he inherit the chieftaincy because he was unable to lead them’ (History_amankrado 3.115)

1169) **lə kutu fəə aakpe tsyaa , nko tsya**

lá	kó-	*tù	fəə	à=	á-	kpé	tsyâ	=a	ńkò	tsyâ
if	NCL7	soup	2SG.COMP	2SG.NOM	PROSP	put	too	=TOP	like that	too
boakpe			kutu		tsya	nə				.
bó=	á-	kpé	kó-	*tù	tsyâ	nə				
1PL.NOM.PST=	HAB	put	NCL7	soup	too	really				

‘If it is soup you desire to put also, it is so they put in soup too’ (Ofo 9.3)

Examples 1167 and 1168 have the verbs *lá* ‘want’ and *tónò* ‘agree’ respectively. Their complementizers are *míə* ‘1SG.COMP’ and *bəə* ‘3PL.COMP’ and they are co-referential to their subject. In example 1169, there is no verb expressing desire.

However, the notion of desire can be deduced from context. The verbs *lá* and *bébé* can fit in the verb slot of (1169) and make sense.

10.2.5 Modality

There are verbs that are used to express necessity. They are *lè* ‘resemble’ and *hiá* ‘need’. These verbs take complement clauses as their objects. In the case of the verb *lè*, it may form a compound with the complementizer *bónkə* ‘3PL.COMP’ or its clipped form *báə*. One may question the rationale behind the use of the verb *lè* as a marker of necessity. For a situation to be necessary, it has to be similar or resemble a conceptual notion of need. The verb *hiá* has cognates found in Ewe, Akan and Ga. The use of the verbs *lè* and *hiá* to express necessity is illustrated in:

- 1170) *lə eyu la , ele bəə*
lɔ́ á= yù lá é= lè bəə
 if 2SG.NOM.PST steal TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP
bakpe fə lə ɔ̀beke .
bà= kpé fə lɔ́ ɔ̀bèké
 3PL.NOM= put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
 ‘If you steal, it is necessary they put you in a cage’ (Punishment 1.11)

- 1171) *dinə ke ehra bəə wə ɔ̀ke la ,*
dínɔ́ ké é= hiá bəə wə ɔ̀= kè lá
 the day any 3SG.NOM.PST= need 3PL.COMP 3SG.ACC 3SG.NOM= exist TOP
elebəə obe nkə ubə
é= lè báə ɔ̀= bè nkə ɔ̀= bá
 3SG.NOM.PST= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= see that 3SG.NOM= come
dufə .
dúfə
 arrive
 ‘Any time it is necessary that he exist, it is necessary he see to it that he arrives’
 (King making 14.6)

1172) nya eso	ehia		bəə	untsya		
nyá éśô	é=		hiá	bəə	ò=	-n- tsyâ
therefore	3SG.NOM.PST=	need	3PL.COMP	3SG.NOM=	LIG	too
wòkè		lə nti	kokoko			
wò=	ó- kè	lè	ntí	kòkòkò		
3SG.NOM=	FUT	be available	LOC	between	certainly	
'Therefore it is necessary that he too will be available in the mist certainly' (king_making 19.9)						

Example 1170 has the verb *lè* 'resemble' and the complementizer *bəə* '3PL.COMP'.

Example 1171 has the verbs *lè* 'resemble' and *hiá* 'need' and both verbs have the complementizer *bəə* '3PL.COMP'. Example 1172 has the verb *hiá* and the complementizer *bəə*.

It is a coincidence that the structure of these constructions is similar to that of Ewe (Ameka 2008:147). There are two verbs in Ewe used for expressing necessity. They are *lè* 'be.at:PRES' and *dze* 'fit' and they take the complement *bə(ná)* 'COMP'. Sekpele has borrowed the verb *dze* in the expression of necessity and it is illustrated in:

1173) edzebe		bənyə		bənkə	, wəmfó	
é=	dzébé	bà=	nyà	bənkə	wà=	mfó
3SG.NOM.PST=	be necessary	3PL.NOM=	find	3PL.COMP	3SG.NOM=	that
to okle	mə	:	ntsyə	wə	ditsyəbi	
tò	ó- *klè	má	ntsyá	wá	lé- tsyà	-bí
POSS	NCL1	kind	like this	how	3SG.POSS	NCL5 behave NMLZ
ntə	?					
ñ=	tá					
REL=	be.at					
'It is necessary they find out that such a person like this: how is his behaviour?'						
(King_making 2.9)						

1174)	nya eso	edzebe		lə	ətsyə	kaso	kase
	nyá ésô	é=	dzébé	lá	à=	tsyə	kàsô kàsé
	therefore	3SG.NOM.PST=	be necessary	HORT	2SG.NOM	put	down how
	footonsə						
	fô=	ó-	tò	-n-	-sə		
	2SG.NOM=	FUT	burn	LIG	CAUS		
	‘Therefore it is necessary that you start from how you will burn it’						(Soap_making 9.1)

10.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function such that they modify verb phrases or entire clauses. They are adjuncts and not arguments of predicates, and only add extra information to the proposition since they are not subcategorised by the predicate. They express notions such as time, location, purpose, manner, reason etc. Adverbial clauses which have been reported for the world’s language can be divided into twelve types: (1) time; (2) location; (3) manner; (4) purpose; (5) reason; (6) circumstantial; (7) simultaneous; (8) conditional; (9) concessive; (10) substitutive; (11) additive and (12) absolutive (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007:243). Secondly, languages have various ways of representing adverbial clauses. This may include relative clauses, complement clauses and multi-verb constructions. In this section, I will describe the range of adverbial clauses that can be found in Sèkpele. Adverbial clauses will be represented in square brackets [].

10.3.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are used to express the time of an event or proposition. There are two types of temporal clauses: temporal sequence clauses and ‘before’ clauses.

10.3.1.1 Temporal sequence clauses

Temporal sequence clauses are used to express a temporal sequence relation between clauses. Sekpele employs three particles, namely *sé* ‘when’, *lèfèné* ‘when’, and *lèfènéké* ‘whenever’. The particle *lèfèné* is a compound of the noun *léfè* ‘time’ and the CL5 determiner marker *nó* while *lèfènéké* include the indefinite *ké* ‘any’ added to the compound of *lèfèné*. Temporal clauses can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before the main clause, they tend to be topicalized or occur in a conditional clause. The particle *sé* is illustrated in:

- 1175) **onukuale** , **utidi** **onri** , [**se**
 ònòkòálé ò- *tídi ò- *ní = **sé**
 truth NCL1 person CL1 one =TOP **when**
bəəsə **lə** **Kpalime**] , [**se** **utinkəsə**
 bá= à- sè ló Kpalime **sé** ò= tínkà -sè
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV sing LOC Kpalime **when** 3SG.NOM= shake CAUS
disi] , **keku ko onle** **buwi** .
 dísi kèkú kò ò= n- lé bo- wì
 head cry then 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold NMLZ cry
 ‘Truthfully, one person, when they sung in Kpalime, when she shook her head, she was just crying’
 (Good_old_days 35.1)

- 1176) [**se** **bəəbə** **mfó** **la**] , **kəsiəkə**
sé bá= à- bó m̀fó lá kà- síó -kó
when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come there TOP NCL9 dwell PLACE
kā **manleke** **mə** .
 ká n- à- n- lékè m̀ó
 CL9.DEF NEG PFV NEG be good 3PL.ACC
 ‘When they came there, the area wasn't convenient to them’ (History_amankrado 1.6)

- 1177) **iyifo** **wə** **yann** [**se** **uunyə**
 é= yífó wə yàǹi **sé** ó= ò- nyə
 3SG.NOM.PST= do 3SG.ACC surprise **when** 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT see
wə]
 wə
 3SG.ACC
 ‘He was surprised when he saw him’ (Verbs 476.1)

Examples 1175 and 1176 have the temporal clause occurring before the main clause. Example 1175 has three sequences of events. The first two are temporal clauses introduced by the particle *sé* ‘when’. In (1176), the temporal clause is introduced by the particle *sé* and it is topicalized. However, in (1177), the temporal clause occurs after the main clause and it is also introduced by the particle *sé*. Both 1176 and 1177 are bi-clausal and the clause carrying the temporal particle *sé* precedes the main clause in terms of time. The particle *lèfèné* ‘when’ is illustrated in:

- 1178) [*lefenə bəətəkətəkə* *fəə*] , *lefe*
lèfèné bá = à- tóká tóká fə =ə lé- *fè
 when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV put on put on 2SG.ACC = TOP NCL5 time
nəmfó okpe ale .
 ná- mfó ò = kpé àlé
 CL5 that 3SG.NOM = have strength
 ‘When they place a name on you, that time she had strength’ (Buying_name 56.5)

- 1179) [*lə eyo* *lefenə biuyifo*] *ko*
 lá é = yó *lèfèné* bè = ó- yífó kò
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = reach when 2PL.NOM = FUT make then
muubə kpo .
 mò = ó- bá kpó
 1SG.NOM = FUT come snap
 ‘If it is time for you to make it then I will come and cover’ (Palm_kernel_oil 9.1)

- 1180) *əsəmí akaní* [*lefenə ubə*]
 əsəmí à- kà- ní *lèfèné* ó = bá
 rain PFV PROG fall when 3SG.NOM.PST = come
 ‘It was raining when he came’ (Adverbs 23.1)

Examples 1178 and 1179 have the temporal clause occurring before the main clause. In (1178), the temporal clause is topicalized while in (1179), it occurs with a conditional clause. Example 1180 on the other hand has the temporal clause occurring after the main clause. The particle ‘*lèfènékə*’ ‘whenever’ is illustrated in:

- 1181) [**lefenəkə** **ɔsɔmɪ** **lenɪ**], **wəəbə**
lèfənəkə **ɔsɔmɪ** **lè** = **ní** = **wà** = **á-** **bá**
whenever rain REL = fall = TOP 3SG.NOM = HAB come
 ‘Whenever it rains, he comes’ (Adverbs 21.1)

- 1182) **wəəbə** [**lefenəkə** **waala**]
wà = **á-** **bá** **lèfənəkə** **wà** = **á-** **lá**
 3SG.NOM = HAB come **whenever** 3SG.NOM = HAB want
 ‘He comes whenever he wants to’ (Adverbs 22.1)

Example 1181 has the temporal clause occurring before the main clause while that of example 1182 occurring after the main clause. The temporal clause in 1181 is topicalized. Both 1181 and 1182 are in the habitual aspect and it seems the particle *lèfənəkə* is associated with habituais. The particle *lèfənəkə* can occur in a complement clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1183) [**eso** **bəə** **kokoko** **lefenə** **ke** **ubə** **bə** **la**], **nya**
ésò **bəə** **kòkòkò** **lèfənə** **ké** **ò** = **bá** **bá** **lá** **nyá**
 therefore 3PL.COMP certainly **when** **any** 3SG.NOM = come come TOP then
te **bəətɛɪ** **wə** **bəə** ‘ **nya**
tè **bè** = **ó-** **téyí** **wə** **bəə** **nyá**
 only 2PL.NOM = FUT tell 3SG.ACC 3PL.COMP 3SG.PN
onle **buyifo** **enle**
ò = **n-** **lé** **bò** = **yífó** **è** = **n-** **lé**
 3SG.NOM = EMPH hold 1PL.NOM = do 3SG.NOM = NEG hold
boleke **loo** ‘.
bò- **lékè** **lóó**
 NMLZ be good UFP
 ‘Therefore it is said that certainly whenever he comes, then only will you tell him that ‘ what he was doing is not going well’ (King_making 16.9)

In example 1183, the temporal clause is embedded in the complement clause indicated by the indefinite complementizer *bəə* ‘3PL.COMP’. The entire clause occurs before the main clause and it is topicalized. The main clause also has a complement clause which is the argument of the verb *tɛɪ* ‘tell’.

10.3.1.2 ‘Before’ clauses

‘Before’ clauses are used to express situations in which the state of affairs indicated in the clause has not happened by the time of the state of affairs specified in the main clause. In Sɛkpɛle, the ‘before’ clause is introduced by the particle *fě́ě* ‘before’. The clause can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before the main clause, they tend to be marked by a topic marker. The following illustrates the occurring of the ‘before’ clause:

- 1184) [*fě́ě* *buutsyə* *nnye* *buumuə* *fə* *tsya*
 fě́ě *bò=* *ó-* *tsyə* *hnyè* *bò=* *ó-* *múə* *fə* *tsyà*
 before 1PL.NOM= FUT put perhaps 3PL.NOM= FUT catch 2SG.ACC too
la] , *ətsyuə* *fə* *əmə* *mante* [*fě́ě*
 lá *à-* *tsyúə* *fə* *á-* *mə* *n-* *à-* *n-* *tè* *fě́ě*
 TOP CL3 some 2SG.PN CL1 the NEG PFV NEG know before
fə *betidi* *ləbə* *fə* *buŋi*
 fə *bà-* **tídi* *lè=* *á-* *bə* *fə* *bò-* *fí*
 2SG.POSS NCL2 person REL= PROSP come 2SG.ACC NMLZ take
kə̀tə] .
 kà- *tə*
 INF give
 ‘Before they will install or perhaps catch you too, maybe you in person didn’t know before
 your people shall give you out’
 (King_making 2.27)

- 1185) *ebotonə* *kolo* *ətəkə* *ntu*
 à= *bó-* *tò* *-n-* *-sə* *kòlò* *à=* *tókə* *nítù*
 2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS soda ash 2SG.NOM put on water
akpo *kolo* [*fě́ě* *əbutsyue* *kolo*] .
 à= *kpó* *kòlò* *fě́ě* *à=* *bó-* *tsyúé* *kòlò*
 2SG.NOM pour soda ash before 2SG.NOM FUT arrange soda ash
 ‘You will burn soda ash, put water on fire, and pour it on soda ash before arranging soda ash’
 (Soap_making 4.1)

1186)	mə			didì				bəkpə			
	mə			lè =	dí			bà-	*kpə		
	3PL.PN			REL =	be:NPRES			NCL2	warrior		
	baayenko								mə		
	bá =	à-	yé	-n-	-kó				mə		
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	walk	LIG	ASSOC				3PL.ACC		
	beetsyiko					Atebubu	[		fěě		
	bá =	à-	tsyì		-kó	Atebubu			fěě		
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	come from	ASSOC		Atebubu			before		
	bəəbə			Likpeto]						
	bá =	à-	bə	Likpeto							
	3PL.NOM.PST =	PFV	come	Likpeto							
	‘They were the warriors who lead the migration from Atebubu to Likpeto’										
	(History_amankrado 1.5)										

Example 1184 has two ‘before’ clauses: one precedes and the other follows the main clause. The one before the main clause is topicalized. Examples 1185 and 1186 have the ‘before’ clauses occurring after the main clause. The main clause in 1185 is a multi-verb construction with the verbs *tò* ‘burn’, *tákə* ‘put on’ and *kpó* ‘pour’. The ‘before’ clause can be used for hypothetical constructions. The hypothetical clause is placed at the beginning of the construction, as in:

1187)	[	fěě	bəəkəbe		fə	diyi		nəmfó	la	]	lə
	fěě	bò =	ó-	kóbé	fə	lé-	*yì	ná-	mfó	lá	lá
	before	3PL.NOM =	FUT	hold	2SG.ACC	NCL5	full day	CL5	that	TOP	if
	bəmuə			fə		ko		buusu			
	bá =	múə		fə		kò		bò =	ó-	sù	
	3PL.NOM.PST =	catch		2SG.ACC		then		3PL.NOM =	FUT	go	
	bələkə		fə	bate							
	bà =	lákə	fə	bà =		té					
	3PL.NOM =	remove	2SG.ACC	3PL.NOM =		show					
	‘Before they will get hold of you on that day, if they catch you then they will reveal you in public’										
	(King_making 2.30)										

10.3.1.3 Locative clauses

Locative clauses express the location of events. In Sekpele, locative clauses are expressed as a relative clause with the head noun *kàkǎ* ‘place’. The locative clause can occur before or after the main clause. When it occurs before the main clause, it is topicalized. This is illustrated in:

- 1188) **kemi** [**kakǎ** **ke** **lemanleke** **la**] ,
 kè mí **kàkǎ** ké lè = n- à- n- lékè lá
 then **place** any REL = NEG PFV NEG be good TOP
yòleke ewónsə .
 yò = ó- lékè è = wónsə
 3SG.NOM = FUT be good 3SG.NOM = support
 ‘Then wherever isn’t perfect, it will be perfect in addition’ (Pottery 50.3)

- 1189) [**kakǎ** **buusu** **bakǎ** **ntam ǎ** **tsya la**] , **lə**
 kàkǎ bò = ó- sù bà = kǎ ntám ǎ tsyá lá ló
 place 3PL.NOM = FUT go 3PL.NOM = swear oath CL3.DEF too TOP if
bato ola mfó balosə la ,
 bá = tó ólá mǎfó bá = lò -sə lá
 3PL.NOM.PST = throw prayer there 3PL.NOM.PST = be finish CAUS TOP
boola ubuki bala koto kome
 bò = ó- là ò- *bùkí bà = là kó- *tò kó- mǎ
 3PL.NOM = FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM = cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
 ‘Where they will go and swear the oath too, if they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’ (King_making 2.47)

Examples 1188 and 1189 have the locative clause occurring before the main clause and they are topicalized. Example 1189 has three clauses: the first clause is the locative clause; the second clause has a temporal clause embedded in a conditional clause; while the third clause is the main clause. The first and second clauses are topicalized because they occur before the main clause. On the other hand, if the locative clause occurs after the main clause, there are two possibilities. It may stand

alone or occurs as the complement of the locative marker *lɛ* ‘LOC’. This is illustrated in:

- 1190) **Mate tsya əsiə lə [kakã bəəsia to [**
 Mate tsyâ à- síó ló **kàkã** bá= à- sí -ə tò
 Mate too PFV dwell LOC **place** 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV POSS
kakã baala mfó eto kama]] .
kàkã bá= à- là m̃fó eto kámà
place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut there POSS back
 ‘Mate too settled behind where they had settled at the back of where they were allocated’
 (History_amankrado 3.11)

- 1191) **nya baataka bəəbə [kakã**
 nyá bá= à- tákà bá= à- bó **kàkã**
 then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV rise 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come **place**
baakpo Sieti] .
 bá= á- kpó Sieti
 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call Sieti
 ‘Then they had risen and had come to the place they called Sieti’ (History_amankrado 3.67)

Examples 1190 and 1191 have the locative clause occurring after the main clause. Example 1190 has two locative clauses: the second is embedded in a possessive construction which is also embedded in the first locative clause. The entire locative clause is the complement of the locative maker *lɛ*. In 1191 the locative clause occurs as a locative adjunct to the serial verbs *tákà* ‘rise’ and *bə* ‘come’. Example 1190 shows that the locative clause is versatile and can occur within various constructions. It can also occur in a complement clause. This is illustrated in:

1192)	bənyə		bətsyə		ləkpó	nkə	[	kakā
	bá=	nyə	bá=	tsyə	lèkpó	ńkə		kakā
	3PL.NOM.PST=	find	3PL.NOM.PST=	put	recognition	that		place
	baakpe		otodi	bǎ	tǎ	ənuə]	,
	bá=	à-	kpé	òtòdì	bǎ	tǎ	à-	*núə
	3PL.NOM.PST=	PFV	put	palm frond	3PL.REL	all	CL6	two
	iyifo		fenkə	bosadi				.
	é=	yífó	fē	ńkə	bò-	sádì		
	3SG.NOM.PST=	do	like	that	NMLZ	comb		
	‘They found out that the place they had put the two palm fronts had been combed’							
	(History_amankrado 3.60)							

Example 1192, the first clause is a complement clause of cognition. The cognitive verb is made up of the serial verbs *nyə* ‘find’, *tsyə* ‘keep’ and noun *ləkpó* ‘recognition. The clause has the complementizer *ńkə* ‘that/COMP’ which takes the locative clause as its complement.

10.3.1.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses express the way the situation in the clause was carried out or came to be. Manner clauses in Sekpele are introduced by particles such as *kàsé* ‘how’, *ńkò* ‘like’, and *fenkə* ‘like’. These particles can be combined together to express a notion of manner. When the particle *kàsé* occurs alone in a proposition, the manner clause occurs after the main clause. This is illustrated in:

1193)	əbunyə		[	kase	Onanto	lete		bakoko
	á=	bò	nyə	kàsé	ònántó	lè=	té	bà- *kòkó
	2SG.NOM.PST	ANT	see	how	Almighty God	REL=	show	NCL2 ancient
	asa]					?
	à-	*sá						
	CL6	thing						
	‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’							
	(Punishment 1.9)							

- 1194) **muusi** **nkpr** [**kase** **minkpr**
 mò = ó- sí ñ = kpí **kàsé** mì = n- kpí
 1SG.NOM = FUT still 1SG.NOM = scrape **how** 1SG.NOM = EMPH scrape
nyamfo ke]
 nyàmfô ké
 this same
 ‘I will again scrape just as I scraped this very one’ (Pottery 182.3)

- 1195) **wookwe** **wuutsyø** [**kase** **ntø**
 wò = ó- kwé wò = ó- tsyð **kàsé** ñ = tá
 3SG.NOM = FUT become dry 3SG.NOM = FUT be **how** REL = be.at
mø]
 mó
 like this
 ‘It will become dry like this’ (Soap_making 25.4)

In example 1193, the speaker is drawing the attention of the addressee to see how God has revealed such wisdom to their ancestors. In example 1194, the speaker is stating that she will perform an action in a manner as she had performed before. In example 1195, an entity is said to be in a state just as another entity is. In this way, the particle **kàsé** indicates a replication of an event or a state of affairs.

A manner clause involving the particle **ńkò** can occur before or after the main clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1196) [**nko** **buesø**] **lø** **bøle** **kamø** **bosø**
ńkò bò = á- sè lá bò = lé kàmó bó- só
like that 1PL.NOM = HAB sing if 1PL.NOM = hold rice NMLZ beat
nø .
 nó
 really
 ‘That is how we sing if we are threshing rice really’ (Good_old_days 7.2)

- 1197) [nko te yaakpo] boawã
 níkò tè yá= á- kpó bó= á- wà
 like that only 3SG.NOM.PST = HAB gather 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB cook
kedi fěě boato mu nə
 kà- dí fěě bó= á- tò mú ná
 INF eat before 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB mould CL10.ACC really
 ‘That is how it gathers around us and we cook to eat before we really mould it’ (Pottery 45.1)
- 1198) lə besu bebikə to kama tsya , [nko te
 ló bá= sù bà= bíkǎ tò kámà tsyâ ríkò tè
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = go 3PL.NOM = bury POSS back too like that only
biusə əsə hǎă] biyifo
 bè= ó- sè á- *sè hǎă bè= yífó
 2PL.NOM = FUT sing CL8 song through to 2PL.NOM = do
bidunko
 bè= dú -n- -kó
 2PL.NOM = leave LIG ASSOC
 ‘After burial too, that is how they will sing throughout while the performance continues’
 (Buying_name 31.4)

In examples 1196 and 1197, the manner clause occurs before the main clause. Example 1197 is a ‘before’ clause (temporal) that has a manner clause as its main clause. On the other hand, example 1198 has the manner clause occurring after the main clause. In the above examples, the particle *ñkò* occurs before the manner clause. However, the particle *ñkò* can occur after the manner clause especially in a question. This is illustrated in:

- 1199) [ebofo butsyi nya nko]
à= bó- fò bó- tsyí nyá ñkò
2SG.NOM FUT be able NMLZ carry 3SG.ACC like that
- yəmuɪfɔ kolesaa ?
yà= n- ó- yífó kólèsá =
3SG.NOM= NEG FUT do nothing =TOP
‘Can you be able to carry it like that such that it wouldn't do anything?’ (Pottery 103.1)

- 1200) **eso kase iiyifo nko** , [**ebofo**
 ésò kàsé é= à- yífó **ńkò** à= bó- fò
 therefore **how** 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV do **like that** 2SG.NOM FUT be able
butsyi nya nko] ?
 bó- tsyí nyá **ńkò**
 NMLZ carry 3SG.ACC **like that**
 ‘Therefore as it had become, can you be able carry it like that?’ (Pottery 101.1)

- 1201) **alebe [lə bakpadi əkpəfi nko la]** ,
 álébé lá bá= kpádí à- *kpéfi **ńkò** lá
 however if 3PL.NOM.PST= call NCL6 child **like that** TOP
buutə mə lesa nǎ bedi .
 bò= ó- tǎ mǎ lè- *sǎ nǎ bà= dí
 3PL.NOM= FUT give 3PL.ACC NCL5 thing CL5.DEF 3PL.NOM= eat
 ‘However if they call the children like that, they will give them the food to eat’
 (Naming_ceremony 4.4)

Examples 1199 and 1200 are questions involving manner clauses. In (1199), the manner clause occurs before the main clause. The particle **ńkò** occurs at the end of the manner clause. In example 1200, there are two manner clauses forming the question. Each clause has the particle **ńkò** occurring at the end of the clause. Example 1201 is a conditional construction. The manner clause is embedded in the antecedent conditional clause and the particle **ńkò** occurs at the end of the clause.

The particle **fenkə** is a compound of the **fə** ‘like’ and the complementizer **ńkə** ‘COMP’. The manner clause involving the particle **fenkə** may take a circumstantial clause as its complement. This is illustrated in:

- 1202) **fəsono le boyĩ [fenkə abo**
 f= àsòndò lé bò- yĩ **fə ńkə** á- *bò
 2SG.POSS= concubine hold NMLZ smell **like that** NCL6 fragrance
baakpo]
 bá= à- kpó
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV pour
 ‘Your concubine smells like fragrances they pour on her’ (Good_old_days 31.2)

- 1203) **lə ebe** **la** , **əbunya** [**fenkə** **ntu**
 lǎ é= bé lǎ à= bó- nyà **fè** **ńkà** ntù
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= be cook TOP 2SG.NOM FUT see **like** **that** water
əmbə **lə** **nya**] **ntu** **alo** **lə** **nya**
 à- n- bá lǎ nyá ntù à- lò lǎ nyá
 SCR NEG exist LOC 3SG.ACC water PFV be finish LOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘If it is cooked, you will see that water isn’t in it, water is finished in it’ (Palm_kernel_oil 6.2)

In examples 1202 and 1203, the particle *fenkə* introduces a circumstantial clause which acts as a manner clause of the main clause. In (1202), the circumstance is the smell of a fragrance while that of (1203) is the nonexistence of water. The particle *fenkə* can also take a noun or noun phrase as its complement. This is illustrated in:

- 1204) **kokoko** **utidi** **looke**
 kòkòkò ò- *tídi lò= ó- kè
 certainly NCL1 person REL= FUT exist
otonko **mi** [**fenkə** **kale** **to**
 ò= tó -n- -kó mí **fè** **ńkà** kálè tò
 3SG.NOM= go towards LIG ASSOC 2PL.ACC **like** **that** clan POSS
uninə]
 ó- *nínó
 NCL1 elder
 ‘Certainly someone has to exist and lead you as the elder of the clan’
 (History_amankrado 11.4)

- 1205) **lə efe** **ayombii** , **əsə** **ələkə**
 lǎ é= fè àyómbí = à= sà à= lókà
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= split Agushi =TOP 2SG.NOM fry 2SG.NOM remove
nnamfo awǎ **nya** [**fenkə** **osokpa**]
 nnàmfo à= wǎ nyá **fè** **ńkà** òsòkpá
 flour 2SG.NOM cook 3SG.ACC **like** **that** porridge
 ‘If you split ‘Agushi’, you fry and remove the flour and cook it like porridge’ (Ofo 13.4)

In example 1204, the *fenkə* has the noun phrase *kálè tò úníná* ‘elder of clan’ as its complement while that of (1205) is *òsòkpá* ‘porridge’. When the particle *fenkə*

occurs before the main clause, it takes the interpretation of assumption. This is illustrated in:

- 1206) **lə** [**fenkə** **əmənnyə** **nte**]
 lə **fěnkə** á = n- à- n- nyə n̩tè
 if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG find wine
ebutsyi **ntu**
 à = bó- tsyí n̩tù
 2SG.NOM FUT carry water
 ‘If assuming you don't get wine, you will carry water’ (Buying_name 47.2)

- 1207) [**fenkə** **kase** **bəətsyə** **oka** , **umənkəa**] ,
fěnkə kàsé bà = á- tsyè ó- *ká úmènká =
 assuming how 3PL.NOM = HAB put NCL1 chief town chief = TOP
besio **to** **oka** **tsya** , [**nko** **bəətsyə**
 bà- *sió tò ó- *ká tsyâ n̩kò bá = á- tsyè
 NCL2 woman POSS NCL1 chief too like that 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB put
untsya] ?
 ò = -n- tsyâ
 3SG.NOM = LIG too
 ‘Then excuse me, assuming how they install the chief, the town chief, the queen too, is that
 how they install her too?’ (King_making 20.1)

Just as in example 1207, the particle **fěnkə** can combine with other particles such as the manner particle **kàsé** ‘how’ or the temporal particle **sé** ‘when’. This is illustrated in:

- 1208) **bookpadi** **wə** **bato** **wə** **etiki**
 bə = ó- kpádí wə bà = tò wə à- *t̩kí
 3PL.NOM = FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = ask 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
bətsyə **wə** **etiki** **lə** **ənəmi** [**fenkə** **kase**
 bà = tsyè wə à- *t̩kí lə á- *n̩mí f̩è n̩kò kàsé
 3PL.NOM = put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word LOC NCL6 eye like that how
baale **kole**]
 bá = á- lé kòlé
 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB hold advice
 ‘They will call him to ask questions to put questions before his face like how they give advice’
 (King_making 12.2)

- 1209) **dinə** **baale** **fə** [**fenkə** **se**
 dinə bá = à- lé fə **fənkə** **sé**
 the day 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give birth 2SG.ACC **assuming** **when**
baale **bebi** **mmi** **Kəsida** **la**] ,
 bá = à- lé bè- *bí n̄m̄i Kəsídá lá
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give birth NCL12 child today Sunday TOP
Akosua **ku** **Kəsi** **te** **bookpo** **mə** .
 Àkósúá kú Kəsí tè bò = ó- kpó mé
 Sunday-born female and Sunday-born male only 3PL.NOM= FUT call 3PL.ACC
 ‘The day you were born, assuming as children being born today Sunday, Akosua and Korsi
 they will be called’ (Naming_ceremony 31.1)

Two manner particles can complement each other within a clause or adjacent clauses. This is illustrated in:

- 1210) **eso** [**kase** **iiyifo** **nko**] , [**ebofo**
 ésò **kàsé** é = à- yífó **ńkò** à = bó- fó
 therefore **how** 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV do **like that** 2SG.NOM FUT be able
butsyi **nya** **nko**] ?
 bó- tsyí nyá **ńkò**
 NMLZ carry 3SG.ACC **like that**
 ‘Therefore as it had become, can you be able carry it like that?’ (Pottery 101.1)
- 1211) **itsyise** [**kase** **baate** **wəə**] ,
 ítsyìsé **kàsé** bá = à- té wə = ð
 because **how** 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV show 3SG.ACC =TOP
[ənni **nko** **beeyifo**]
 è = n- ní **ńkò** bá = á- yífó
 3SG.NOM= NEG be **like that** 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB do
 ‘Because how they taught her, that is not how it is done’ (Buying_name 34.7)

Example 1210 has two manner clauses. The first clause has the particles **kàsé** and **ńkò** complementing each other. The second clause has the particle **ńkò** which complements the first clause. Likewise, example 1211 has two manner clauses. The first clause has the particle **kàsé** while the second clause has the particle **ńkò** and both clauses are complementing each other.

10.3.2 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses express a motivating event which is unrealised at the time of the main event. Sekpele has two ways of expressing a purpose event. One way is the use of the particle *lɛ kàsé* to introduce the purpose clause. The particle *lɛ kàsé* is composed of the hortative *lɛ* and the manner particle *kàsé* ‘how’. This is illustrated in:

- 1212) *ubə* [*lɛ kase* *bəəkə* *nkpə*]
 ó = bá *lɛ kàsé* bə = ó- kè ñkpə
 3SG.NOM.PST = come **in order** 1PL.NOM = FUT obtain life
 ‘He came in order for us to have life’ (Adverbs 26.1)

- 1213) *kemi əboto* *olotsyi* *ɔni* *ətə*
 kəmí à = bó- tò ò- *lòtsyí ò- *ní à = té
 then 2SG.NOM FUT mould NCL3 drinking pot CL3 one 2SG.NOM give
mə [*lɛ kase* *mookakpo* *ntu*]
 mə *lɛ kàsé* mò = ó- kà- kpó ntù
 1SG.ACC **in order** 1SG.NOM = FUT PROG pour water
 ‘Then you will mould one drinking pot for me so I will be pouring water into it’
 (Pottery 194.1)

- 1214) *ole* *otenté* [*lɛ kase* *woowā*]
 ó = lè òténté *lɛ kàsé* wò = ó- wā
 3SG.NOM.PST = pluck cocoyam leave **in order** 3SG.NOM = FUT cook
kutu]
 kó- *tù
 NCL7 soup
 ‘She plucked cocoyam leaves so that she will prepare soup’ (Verbs 525.1)

In the above examples, the purpose clause occurs after the main clause. Whenever the purpose clause occurs before the main clause, the main clause may assume a reason clause and be introduced by the reason particle *nyá ésó* ‘therefore’ (see §10.3.5). This is illustrated in:

- 1215) [**nya eso minle** **boteɪ**] **lə ɔno**
nyá ésô mì= n- lé bo- téyí **lá** ò= nò
therefore 1SG.NOM= EMPH hold NMLZ say **HORT** 3SG.NOM= hear
 [**zideka**] **nə**
 nó
 really
 ‘Therefore I am saying it so that he hears it at once’ (Pottery 252.1)

The other way of expressing purpose is the nominalization of the purpose event. The nominalization process involves the noun class marker **ka-** ‘NCL9’, the verb predicate and the place/purpose marker **-kɔ́**. The marker **-kɔ́** serves the same function for indicating place and purpose such that the only rationale for being at a specific place is to perform the task or purpose connected to the place. Examples of place nominalization include **kàsiàkɔ́** ‘dwelling place’, **dísikàkpèkɔ́** ‘meeting place’ **kawākɔ́** ‘kitchen’, **kàlàbèkɔ́** ‘bedroom’, **kèdikɔ́** ‘dining place/inheritance’, **kàkàsèkɔ́** ‘study area/school’ and **kèyifòkɔ́** ‘work place’. The difference between place and purpose interpretations is that the marker **ka-** is expressed as an infinitive marker (INF) for purpose. This is illustrated in:

- 1216) **beti** **kafia** **bato** **kusiə**
 bá= tí ka- *fiá bà= tó ko- *sîə
 3PL.NOM.PST= cover NCL9 cloth 3PL.NOM= go towards NCL7 wife
kakpakɔ́
kà- kpá -kɔ́
INF gather PLACE
 ‘They put on their cloths and are heading to a marriage ceremony’ (Miscellaneous 90.1)
- 1217) **besu** **menkeni** **bato** **kawāko**
 bá= sù mènkení bà= tó kà- wā -kɔ́
 3PL.NOM.PST= exhume cocoyam 3PL.NOM= go towards INF cook PLACE
 ‘They uprooted cocoyam to cook’ (Miscellaneous 67.1)

- One characteristic of the purpose construction is that it occurs with motion verbs in the main clause. Examples 1216 and 1217 have the verb *tɔ* ‘go towards’ while examples 1218 and 1219 have the verbs *sɔ* ‘go’ and *bɔ* ‘come’ respectively. If the nominalized verb has a noun complement, it occurs before the nominalized structure as in 1216 and 1218. In (1216), the complement of the verb *kpá* ‘gather’ is *kúsɛ̀* ‘wife’ while that of the verb *sɛ́* ‘sprinkle’ in (1218) is *kámɔ́* ‘rice’.

Unlike purposive clauses, reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realised at the time of the main clause event. Many languages use the same morpheme for both purposive and reason clauses (Thompson et al., 2007:250). The rationale is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as providing explanations or accounts for the occurrence of a given state or action. Notwithstanding this phenomenon, languages do employ different markings to signal the unrealised status of purposive clauses as opposed to realised status of reason clauses. In Sekpele, reasons clauses are introduced by the particle *nyá ésô* ‘therefore’ which is a combination of the demonstrative *nyá* ‘that’ and the connective *ésô* ‘therefore’. The reason clause mostly occurs before the main clause while the particle acts as a connective between them. This is illustrated in:

- 1220) [**gake ntu mambə**] **nya eso nne fə**
 gake ntù n- à- n- bó **nyá ésô** ñ= lé fə
 but water NEG PFV NEG come **therefore** 1SG.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC
boteɪ
 bò- téyí
 NMLZ tell
 ‘But water didn't come that is why I am telling you’ (Soap_making 15.1)

- 1221) [**baakpo nte**] **nya eso nte ensi**
 bà= á- kpó ntè **nyá ésô** ntè á- n- sí
 3PL.NOM= HAB pour wine **therefore** wine HAB NEG still
əmbə kamɪ
 à- n- bó kàmíní
 PFV NEG exist sweet
 ‘They pour wine into it that is why wine isn't sweet anymore’ (Pottery 202.2)

- 1222) **alebe** [**lefe nəmfó kodzi mambo**
 álébé lé- *fè nó- mfó kódzí n- à- n- bə
 however NCL5 time CL5 that hospital NEG PFV NEG become widespread
eso la , bǎ libə balesə wə
 ésò lá bǎ lè= bó bà= lé -sə wə
 therefore TOP 3PL.REL REL= come 3PL.NOM= give birth CAUS 3SG.ACC
lə diyoo] , nya eso baateɪ nkə
 lá diyó =ó **nyá ésô** bá= á- téyí nkə
 LOC house =TOP **therefore** 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB say that
balesəlesə .
 ba- *lésəlésə
 NCL2 midwife
 ‘However, during that period, because hospital was rare, therefore those who come and deliver at home, that is why they say Balesəlesə (midwives)’ (Naming_ceremony 2.4)

In example 1220, the narrator in the process of narrating the procedures for making soap is interrupted because she failed to include the process where water is introduced. The speaker is stating the reason for interrupting the narrator. In example 1221, the speaker is stating the reason why wine isn't sweet anymore due to the fact that they are put in plastic containers instead of the original pots. In

example 1222, the speaker states that the reason why midwives are called *balesəlesə* is the fact that they go and deliver babies at home since there were no hospitals by then.

Reasons may span through a discourse as the antecedent for arriving at a conclusion. In this case the particle *nyá ésô* introduces the conclusion (main clause) while the reason is drawn from the context of the discourse. The particle *nyá ésô* and the main clause occur alone in the construction. This is illustrated in:

- 1223) *nya eso kuyu lebo mamo nə* .
nyá ésô kúyù lè= bə mòmó nə
 therefore theft REL= become widespread now really
 ‘That is why stealing is really rampant now’ (Punishment 16.3)
- 1224) *nya eso bonle kaso buləkə kate fə*
nyá ésô bə= n- lé kàsô bə- lókə kà- té fə
 therefore 1PL.NOM= EMPH hold down NMLZ remove INF show 2SG.ACC
nə .
nə
 really
 ‘That is why we were really explaining it to you’ (Punishment 19.2)
- 1225) *nya eso mimba oto eso*
*nyá ésô m̀= n- bá ó- *tò ésò*
 therefore 1SG.NOM= EMPH come NCL3 hometown therefore
muubə lə bekate mə .
m̀= ó- bá lá bə= kà- té m̀
 1SG.NOM= FUT come HORT 2PL.NOM= PROG teach 1SG.ACC
 ‘That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me’
 (Punishment 20.1)

In example 1223, the narrator is concluding that stealing is now rampant due to the fact that the mode of punishment narrated has been abandoned for the current system. The current system required the accused to be handed over to the police to be tried in court. Judgement is delayed and unreliable. In the old system, the accused

is brought before the traditional court headed by the chief and a jury of elders. Witnesses are brought to testify and if the accused is found guilty, depending on the crime, s/he is shamed in public: this is corporal punishment. It takes a day and there is no prison or capital punishment. In example 1224, the speaker is stating that due to the complexity of the narrative that is why they are taking their time to explain it to the researcher. Example 1225 is the response to example 1224 and the researcher is stating that the narrative and others of its kind is the reason he has come home to collect stories and document the culture.

10.3.4 Simultaneous clauses

Clauses are said to be simultaneous when the events they depict are understood to occur at the same time. Languages may signal one of the simultaneous events as providing the context or background for the other. The choice of which clause serves as the background is determined essentially by the nature of the discourse. It is important to note that clauses in simultaneity do not follow any particular order, so the order of the clauses could be switched around. There are three strategies languages employ to signal simultaneity, two of which are used to mark background clauses to foreground clauses. The first strategy is where a marker is explicitly used to signal simultaneity; the second involves the use of a continuative, durative or imperfective aspect marker; and the third is a relative paratactic clause where two clauses are juxtaposed. The first two strategies will be accounted for in this section. With the first strategy, Sekpele employs the temporal particle *se* ‘when’ to signal the background clause. This is illustrated:

- 1226) **ɔnukuale** , **utidi** **ɔnn** , [**se**
 ɔnùkùálé ò- *tídi ò- *ní = **sé**
 truth NCL1 person CL1 one =TOP **when**
bəəsə **lə** **Kpalime**] , [**se** **utinkəsə**
 bá= à- sà ló Kpalime **sé** ò= tɪnkà -sà
 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV sing LOC Kpalime **when** 3SG.NOM= shake CAUS
disi] , **keku ko ɔnlə** **buwi** .
 dísi kèkú kò ò= n- lé bó- wì
 head cry then 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold NMLZ cry
 ‘Truthfully, one person, while they sung in Kpalime, while she shook her head, she was just crying’
 (Good_old_days 35.1)

- 1227) **nya** [**se** **yəbutəkə**] **ko** , **wə** **bufi** **anɪ**
 nyá **sé** yà= bó- táká kò wê bô- fĩ à- *ní
 then **when** 3SG.NOM= FUT be on then 3SG.PN ANT take NCL8 arm
ukə **itə** **bã** **nle**
 ó= kə é= tá bã ñ= lé
 3SG.NOM.PST= push 3SG.NOM.PST= give 3PL.REL.PRO REL= hold
fə .
 fə
 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then while it will be on then he had taken his hands to push for those holding you’
 (King_making 2.41)

Example 1226 has two temporal clauses the second of which is signalling the background clause which is understood as simultaneous with the following clause. Likewise, in example 1227, the ‘**sé**’ clause is the background to the following clause. Both foreground clauses in 1226 and 1227 have some level of continuative or progressive aspect in them.

With the second strategy, Sekpele employs the progressive marker **kà-** to indicate simultaneity. This is illustrated in:

- 1228) **fə** **siə kpoo lə** **akabe** .
 fə síə kpóó ló à= **kà-** **bè**
 2SG.PN sit quiet HORT 2SG.NOM PROG see
 ‘You sit quietly and keep watching’ (Pottery 184.2)

- 1229) **osòmí akaní lefenə ubə**
 ósòmí à- kà- ní lèfèné ó = bə
 rain PFV PROG fall when 3SG.NOM.PST = come
 ‘It was raining when he came’ (Adverbs 23.1)

- 1230) **eso lə ayomaa , nya**
 ésò ló á = yómà = nyá
 therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST hang = TOP then
fookato
 fò = ó- kà- tò
 2SG.NOM = FUT PROG mould
 ‘Therefore if you hang, then you will be moulding’ (Pottery 33.1)

In the above examples the progressive marker is attached to the predicate of one of the clauses. The progressive marker does not mark the clause as a background clause but indicates that the marked clause is simultaneous with the other clause. The positions of the clauses can be switched around. In example 1228, the speaker was asking the addressee to sit quietly while watching the procedure of moulding a pot. In example 1229, the person came while it was raining or the reverse. In example 1230, we can observe that simultaneous clauses can occur in a conditional construction. It states that one has to be in a bending position while moulding a pot.

10.3.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses express factual implications or hypothetical situations which serve as premise (protasis) to their consequences (apodosis). In Sekpele, the conditional clause is introduced by the particle *lə* ‘if’ while the consequence clause is optionally introduced by the connectives *kò* ‘then’ or *nyá* ‘then’. The position of the conditional and consequence clauses can be switched around such that either of them can occur before the other. Universally, conditional clauses are said to have a

temporal interpretation. In some languages, the conditional and temporal clauses have the same particles. Conditional clauses can be classified as implicative, predictive and counterfactual.

10.3.5.1 Implicative conditionals

Implicative conditional clauses may also be referred to as factual conditional clauses and they state that if one fact holds, then the other holds. They are used to express certainty, universal statements and logical deductions about particular circumstances.

This is illustrated as in:

- 1231) [**lə bewo**] **yaanwale** .
lə bé = wó yà = á- n- wálè
 if 2PL.NOM.PST = pound 3SG.NOM = HAB NEG grain
 ‘If you pound it, it doesn't dehusk’ (Good_old_days 13.2)
- 1232) **nko** **buesə** [**lə bəle** **kamə boso**
 níkò bə = á- sə **lə** bə = lé kàmó bo- só
 like that 1PL.NOM = HAB sing if 1PL.NOM = hold rice NMLZ beat
nə]
 nó
 really
 ‘That is how we sing if we are threshing rice really’ (Good_old_days 7.2)
- 1233) **iise** [**lə nyamfó edufə**] , [**lə akpe** **lə utə**]
 iise **lə** nyàmfo à- dúfə = **lə** á = kpé **lə** ùtə
 because if that PFV enter =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST put LOC fire
yaata **kpo kpo kpo eba** .
 yà = á- tá kpó kpó kpó è = bá
 3SG.NOM = HAB splash slap slap slap 3SG.NOM = break
 ‘Because if that enters into it and you put it in fire, it splashes and breaks’ (Pottery 201.5)

Example 1231 was uttered on the background that in the past, rice was pounded in a mortar to dehusk it. It is a fact that when rice is pounded in a mortar, it does not dehusk completely. Culturally, when women are engaging in domestic and

communal work, they sing. Example 1232 is stating the fact that they sing when they are threshing rice. In the process of making pottery, it must be ensured that no impurities are found in the clay. Example 1233, is making a deduction that if any impurity is allowed in the clay, during the process of baking the pot in fire, it splashes and breaks.

10.3.5.2 Predictive conditionals

A predictive conditional clause expresses a hypothetical situation whose consequence is normally a future event. The consequence clause usually has the future, potential or prospective tense-aspect-mood. It states that if the condition holds, then the possibility of the consequence event happening is high. This is illustrated in:

- 1234) [**lə ɔsəmɪ anɪ**] , **wuubə**
lɔ́ ɔ̀səmí à- ní =í wò = ó- b́
 if rain PFV fall =TOP 3SG.NOM= FUT come
 ‘If it rains, he will come’ (Adverbs 16.1)

- 1235) [**lə osani əmə əbəə**] , **usio əmə**
lɔ́ ̀- *sàní á- ḿ à- b́ =́ ̀- *sìó á- ḿ
 if NCL1 man CL1 the PFV come =TOP NCL1 woman CL1 the
ebudu .
 à- bó- dú
 SCR FUT leave
 ‘If the man comes, the woman will leave’ (Adverbs 17.1)

- 1236) [**lə nsɪ kenke**] **ko mɔ̀ɔlɔ**
lɔ́ ́ = sí kénké kò m̀ = ó- l̀
 if 1SG.NOM.PST = wipe off completely then 1SG.NOM= FUT repair
nkpr
 ñ = kpí
 1SG.NOM = scrape
 ‘If I wipe it off completely then I will scrape it again’ (Pottery 187.1)

The above examples are predicting that if the condition in the antecedent clause holds, then the event in the consequence clause is likely to happen. Example 1234 is stating that if it rains, then someone known in the context will come. Likewise, example 1235 is stating that if the man comes then the woman will leave. In example 1236, the potter is stating that as soon as she finishes wiping the pot, she will scrape it again. The order of the conditional and the consequence clauses can be switched around.

10.3.5.3 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditional clauses express situations that are speculative, known to be false or are unlikely to have happened. This is illustrated in:

- 1237) [**se** **fenkə** **lə** **utə** **fə**] [**lə**
 sé fěnkə **lé** ó = **tá** fə **lé**
 when assuming if 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC if
ole **la**] , **emufi**
 ó = **lé** **lá** à = n- ó- fĩ
 3SG.NOM.PST = give birth TOP 2SG.NOM NEG FUT take
aboko **wə** **loo** .
 à = **bókó** wə **lóó**
 2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP
 ‘When assuming, if she had given it to you, if it procreates, you will not bring it to her’
 (Buying_name 58.1)

- 1238) [**lə** **itə** **nko** **alee**] , **singli** **aye** **kakã**
lé è = **tá** **ńkò** àléé **sínkli** à = **yè** **kàkã**
 if 3SG.NOM = be.at like that alone return 2SG.NOM stop place
fakayo **mfo** .
 fã = **kà-** **yó** **m̃fô**
 2SG.NOM = PROG reach here
 ‘If it is like that really, you have to stop it at this stage you have reached’ (Pottery 253.2)

1239) enii	buusu			bafo		ɔkwe	kola
èníí	bò =	ó-	sù	bà =	fó	ɔkwé	kólá
probably	3PL.NOM =	FUT	go	3PL.NOM =	cultivate	farm	even
bətə	oka	[lə kaso kpe mə]					
bà =	tá	ó-	*ká	lɔ̀	kàsɔ̀	kpé	má
3PL.NOM =	give	NCL1	chief	if	land	exist	3PL.ACC
‘Probably they will go and even farm for the chief if they have land’ (King_making 14.19)							

In example 1237, the speaker is making an assumption that if your mentor gives you a goat during the process of mentorship and the goat procreates, you keep it yourself instead of bringing it to your mentor. In example 1238, a woman was advising a young man regarding a specific behaviour. It is a fact that the man is not engaged in the said behaviour. However, the woman is stipulating that if the situation holds, then the young man should desist from it. In example 1239, the narrator is stating that, assuming the chief has a land, the people will go and farm for him.

10.3.5.4 Negative conditionals

Many languages have a morpheme used to signal a negative condition. The negative conditional signals that the proposition in the main clause depends on a situation which is not obtainable. The negative conditional may have the same truth value as an ‘if’ clause containing the conditional marker and the negative marker but the implication may be different. Sekpele employs the negative conditional particle *sankpa* ‘unless’. This is illustrated in:

1240) benyifo				lekpome		nã		bəə
bá=	n-	yífó		le-	*kpòmé	nã		bàà
3PL.NOM.PST =	NEG	do		NCL5	stool	CL5.DEF		3PL.COMP
əbusiə		ni		[mavomavɔ]		[sankpa akpome		butsyə
à=	bó-	síá ní			sánpá	a-	*kpòmé	bó- tsyà
2SG.NOM	FUT	sit	CL5.ACC		unless	NCL6	stool	FUT be
bamba]								
bàmbà								
another								
‘They haven’t done the stool that you will sit on it forever unless the stools will be another’								
(King_making 12.11)								

In example 1240, the speaker is stating that nobody occupies the throne forever unless it is another throne. A chief has no immunity and may be deposed at any time especially if he is found to live a life contrary to the dignity attached to chieftaincy. I am not sure why the speaker used the future marker in this example. Probably, what he was trying to state is that unless the rules for occupying the throne change in the future, no one occupies it forever. The ‘sankpa’ clause in this case occurs after the main clause; it can also occur before the main clause.

10.3.5.5 Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditional clauses carry additional presuppositions not signalled by ordinary conditionals. They refer to clauses analogous to the ‘even if’ clauses in English. The concessive particle in Sekpele is **kólá** ‘even’ and has cognates across most languages in Ghana. The particle is used in combination with the conditional particle **lɛ** ‘if’ in Sekpele to express a concessive condition. This is illustrated in:

- 1241) [**nya eso lə okpe** **lə lelensi kola tsya la**] ,
 nyá ésô lǎ ò = kpé lǎ lélènsì kólá tsyâ lǎ
 therefore if 3SG.NOM = exist LOC abroad even too TOP
elebæə wə ɛnəmi lee wə
 é = lè báà wá á- *nè mí léé wá
 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
koto kɛ lə oto .
 kò- *tó kè lǎ ótò
 NCL7 ear exist LOC hometown
 ‘Therefore if he is even abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’
 (King_making 14.9)

Example 1241 has the combination of the conditional particle *lǎ* and the concessive particle *kólá* in the conditional clause. The speaker is stating that even if the chief is living in the diaspora, he has to pay attention to the situation at home.

10.3.6 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses express propositions which contrast with that of the main clause. Sekpele employs the connective *tsyáfěě* ‘however’ to express concession. The connective *tsyáfěě* is a compound of the intensifier *tsyâ* ‘too’ and the connective *fěě* ‘before’. The connective serves as a link between the contrastive clauses. The contrastive clauses occur in the order in which they happen in time. Sekpele also employs the disjunctive particle *gàké* ‘but’ to express concession. The connective *gàké* is borrowed from Ewe. This is illustrated in:

- 1242) [**buudi lesa**] **tsyafée** [**kukpənsɛ lɛ bo**]
 bó = ò- dí lè- *sá **tsyáfěě** kùkpənsé lé bò
 1PL.NOM.PST = ANT eat NCL5 thing **however** hunger hold 1PL.ACC
 ‘We have eaten however we are still hungry’ (Adverbs 27.1)

- (1243) [basani bəmə le bufi] gake [besu
bà- *sànî bá- mǎ lé bò- fĩ gake bá=
NCL2 man CL2 the hold NMLZ become sick but 3PL.NOM.PST= go
keyifo]
kà- *yífó
NCL9 work
'The men are sick but they have gone to work' (Agreement_egs 2.1)
- (1244) [bæətə kusu bæə besu ebutu lee
bá= à- tǒ kùsú bóə bà= sù à- *bùtù lée
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give road 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= go NCL6 bush or
bake kalebe fãã] gake [olɛ seka
bà= kê kà- *lèbé fã̀à gake ò= lé sé- *ká
3PL.NOM= exist NCL9 place freely but 3SG.NOM= hold NCL11 chief
siõ budi lõ oto nə] .
siõ bò- dí lǎ ótò ná
CL11.DEF NMLZ inherit LOC hometown really
'They have given them permission to go to the wilderness or live anywhere freely but he is the
chief at home really' (King_making 14.26)

Example 1242 employed the connective *tsyáíěě* while examples 1243 and 1244 employed the disjunctive particle *gàké*. Example 1242 states that although we have eaten, we are still hungry. Example 1243 states that although the men were sick, they went to work. Example 1244 states that although the chiefs are permitted to live in the diaspora, they are still chiefs back home.

10.3.7 Sequential clauses

Sequential clauses are used to express events in sequence. They express states of affairs that occur after an antecedent clause, and can be found in procedural and narrative clauses. They also occur as apodosis of conditional constructions (see §10.3.7). Connectives used to link sequential clauses in Sekpele include *ètè* ‘then’,

kò ‘then’, *lɔ* ‘then’, *mɛ* ‘then’ and *nyá* ‘then’. The following are examples of each of the connective in the order enumerated:

- 1245) [**aye** **sebese** **ələkə**] **ete** [**ubisia** **bobo**
 à = yé sɛ̀bɛ̀sé à- lákà **étè** ùbìsìà bó- bó
 2SG.NOM filter palmnut chaff 2SG.NOM remove **then** palm oil FUT get out
isu **kalo** **sebese** **tsyɪmɪ** **lə** **kalenke** **əsua**] .
 è = sù kálò sɛ̀bɛ̀sé tsyímì ló kà- *lèŋké àsúó
 3SG.NOM = go down palmnut chaff stay LOC CL9 sieve body
 ‘You filter the palmnut out then the palm oil will drain leaving the palmnut chaff to stay in the
 sieve’
 (Palm_oil 16.3)

- 1246) [**ntu** **lɔ̀kpɪ** **bobo** **kenke**] **ko** [**kalo**
 n̩tù lò = ó- kpì bó- bó kénké **kò** kálò
 water RELPRO = FUT dry up FUT get out completely **then** down
yoofiani **abe** **to** **kota**] .
 yò = ó- fíánì à- *bé tò kótà
 3SG.NOM = FUT become CL6 palmnut POSS mud
 ‘The water will evaporate completely then underneath it will become palmnut cake’
 (Palm_oil 16.5)

- 1247) [**ehia**] **lə** [**bə̀nkə** , **Akonto** **ku** **Leshiaku** **fe**
 é = hǎ **lɔ** bə̀nkà Akonto kú Leshiaku fè
 3SG.NOM.PST = need **then** 3PL.COMP Akonto and Leshiaku like
bataka **lə** **m̩fó**] **lə** [**bayani** **m̩fó**
 bà = tákà ló m̩fó **lɔ** bà = yàní m̩fó
 3PL.NOM = get up LOC there **then** 3PL.NOM = abandon there
bə̀tə **bǎ** **bə̀siə**] .
 bà = tó bá bà = síó
 3PL.NOM = give 3PL.DEM 3PL.NOM = dwell
 ‘It was necessary then that Akonto and Leshiaku to get up from there then abandon there for
 those to dwell’
 (History_amankrado 3.64)

- 1248) [**lə nlosə** **mə kenke**] , **mfe** [
 ló ní = lò -sà mǎ kɛŋké **mǎfɛ**
 if 1SG.NOM.PST = be finish CAUS like this completely **then**
mɔ̀kpɪ mfo mə]
 mò = ó- kpí mǎfɔ mǎ
 1SG.NOM = FUT scrape here like this
 ‘If I finish like this completely, then I will scrape here like this’ (Pottery 39.1)

- 1249) **nya** [**betidi** **lɔ̀bɔ** **kenke**] **nya** [**bale**
nyá ba- *tídi lò = ó- bó kɛŋké **nyá** bà = lé
then NCL2 person RELPRO = FUT get out all **then** 3PL.NOM = hold
fə boyele] **nya** [**fěě bentsyi** **fə**
fə bo- yèlè **nyá** fěě bà = n- tsyí fə
 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot **then** before 3PL.NOM = EMPH carry 2SG.ACC
bantɔ̀nko] .
 bà = n- tó -n- -kó
 3PL.NOM = EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC
 ‘Then all the people who will get out, hooting at you while carrying you away’
 (Punishment 17.2)

Sekpele has borrowed the connectives *kɛmí* or *kɛmá* from Ewe and they are frequently used in discourse. Speakers can combine the Sekpele connectives with their borrowed counterparts. This is illustrated in:

- 1250) [**alebe** **lə alabe** **la**] , [**bəmuə** **sekabe**
 álébé ló á = lǎbé lá bà = múá sɛkábɛ
 however if 2SG.NOM.PST lie TOP 3PL.NOM = catch palm leaf
batsyasə] **kema** [**efe akpe** **nya**] .
 bà = tsyá -sà **kɛmá** èfɛ à = kpé nyá
 3PL.NOM = tie up CAUS **then** now 2SG.NOM exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘However if you lie in it, then they tie up the palm leaves then you are already in it’
 (Punishment 4.4)

1251) [**fuuwǎ** **wə** **asɔ**] **kemi**
 fǒ = ó- wǎ wə à = sɔ **kè mí**
 2SG.NOM = FUT cause 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM beat **then**
 [**ɛbo** **okuaye nə**] .
 è = bó òkuàyé ná
 3SG.NOM = get out soap really
 ‘You will beat it into balls then it will really come out as soap’ (Soup_making 25.6)

1252) [**lə** **əmānyifo** **nko** **mə**] , **kemi**
 lá á = n- à- n- yífó nkò má **kè mí**
 if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG do like that like this **then**
 [**yooya** , **ko** **yooba**] .
 yò = ó- yá **kò** yò = ó- bá
 3SG.NOM = FUT crack **then** 3SG.NOM = FUT break
 ‘If you didn't do it like this, then it will crack, then it will break’ (Pottery 98.2)

Example 1250 has the connective **kémá** while 1251 and 1252 have the connective **kè mí**. Example 1252 consists of the combination of the particle **kè mí** and the particle **kó**.

10.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a dependent clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (Andrews, 2007:206). The pertinent parts of a relative clause are the following: (1) the Head (noun phrase); (2) the restricting clause; (3) the relativized noun phrase (NP_{rel}); and (4) the relativizer. Payne (1997:326) proposes that there are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped: (1) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun; (2) the mode of expression of the relativized NP (case recoverability strategy); and (3) which grammatical relations can be relativized. The aim of this section is to discuss relativization strategies that Sekpele employs in accordance with these parameters.

The first typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is the position of the clause with respect to the head. Relative clauses can be prenominal (before the head noun), postnominal (after the head noun), internally headed (the head occurs within the relative clause), or they may be headless. Postnominal relative clauses are the most common type cross-linguistically. Languages which are dominantly VO in main-clause constituent order always have postnominal relative clauses. English and Luganda are such languages. Prenominal relative clauses occur in some OV languages such as Japanese and Turkish. Internally headed relative clauses are those for which the head is within the relative clause. Many OV languages including Bambara, a Niger-Congo language of West Africa, have internally headed relative clauses. Internally headed relative clauses can be thought of as another means of avoiding having a phonologically large and semantically complex modifier precede the head noun. Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves are used to refer to the noun that they modify. In general, languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major RC strategy than languages for which there is distinct and large classes of modifiers. Some languages use headless relative clauses whenever the specific reference to the head is clear. Ndjuká (Surinam creole) is an example of such languages (Payne 1997:328).

In view of these parameters, Sekpele is postnominal, and it employs a relative pronoun and a relativizer in forming a relative clause. The relative pronoun is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner. Relativity is indicated by a rising tone on the segment (̃). The relativizer is *le=*/*la=*/*lo=* or *n=*, which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. *Le=*/*la=*/*lo=* is attached to non-stative verbs while *n=* is attached to stative verbs. *Le=*/*la=*/*lo=* are varying forms based on the TAM they

occur with. They also vary in terms of vowel harmony triggered by the first vowel of the verb. *Le=* occurs with the perfective, *la=* occurs with the habitual and prospective, while *lo=* occurs with future. This is illustrated in:

- 1253) **udi** **diyibibi** [**ně** **diyue**]
 ó = dí lè- yìbíbí **ně** lè = yúà
 3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit **CL5.REL.PRO REL = become soft**
 ‘He ate the fruit which is soft’ (Adjectives 76.1)

- 1254) **wə** **ni** **utsyə** [**ě** **laakpla** **lema** **lə**]
 wê ní ùtsyúà **ě** là = á- **kplá** lè má ló
 3SG.PN be somebody **CL1.REL.PRO REL = HAB intervene** war LOC
utidi **ku** **utidi** lee kale **ku** kale lee **kasə** **ku** **kasə** to
 ò- *tídi kú ò- *tídi léé kálè kú kálè léé kàsò kú kàsò tò
 NCL1 person and NCL1 person or clan and clan or land and land POSS
nti]
 òtí
 between
 ‘He is the person who intervenes during conflict between persons, or between clans, or between lands’ (King_making 14.14)

- 1255) **mə** **lekafiani** [**bā** **luusiə** **lə**]
 mɔ lè = kà- fíánì **bā** lò = ó- síó ló
 3PL.PN REL = PROG become **3PL.REL.PRO REL = FUT dwell** LOC
umə ... **kasə** **kā** to **ntinti** **nə**] .
 ó- *mò kà- *sò ká tò òtíntí nó
 NCL3 town NCL9 land CL9.DEF POSS centre really
 ‘They have become those who will dwell in the town ... the centre of the land really’
 (History_amankrado 3.65)

- 1256) **ufi** **kukuə** [**kuě** **ntə** **bekebeke**]
 ó = fí kò- *kùó **kuě** ò = tó békébéké
 3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL7 book **CL7.REL.PRO REL = be.at** thin
 ‘He took the book which is thin’ (Adjectives 58.1)

Examples 1253, 1254, 1255, and 1256 illustrate the relative clause for perfective, habitual, future and stative respectively. The relative clauses in all cases are postnominal, and consist of a relative pronoun which agrees with the head noun in

1257) **bekusesiəle** **esia** **nkpe** **wə**
bà- *kùsé *sîə *lè àsiá n̄ = kpé wə
NCL2 chicken female own how much REL = exist 3SG.ACC
‘How many hens does he have?’ (Adverbs 29.1)

1258) **beso osani əmə dibə**
 bəsò ò- *sàni á- mǝ **lè= bǝ**
 why NCL1 man CL1 the **REL= come**
 ‘Why did the man come?’ (Adverbs 33.1)

1259) **bamankrado** **lætsyə** **oka** .
 bà- *mánkràdò **là=** á- **tsyə** ó- *ká
 NCL2 king making **REL=** **HAB** **put** NCL1 chief
 ‘It is the king makers who installs a chief’ (King making 1.1)

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Examples 1257 and 1258 are content questions while examples 1259 and 1260 are emphatic constructions. Example 1257 has the relativizer **n=**, example 1259 has the relativizer **la=** while examples 1258 and 1260 have the relativizer **le=**.

Many languages employ a special form called a relativizer as shown in Sɛkpɛle, to identify a clause as a relative clause. A prototypical relativizer does not constitute a reference to the **NP_{rel}** and thus cannot itself help recover the role of the **NP_{rel}** in the relative clause. Instead, in such circumstances, a different form called a relative pronoun is used to introduce the relative clause. Relative pronouns are typically similar to other pronouns in the language, either question particles or pronouns used to refer to non-specific or indefinite items. Relative pronouns can be thought of as combining the functions of a plain relativizer and a clause-internal pronoun that refers to the relativized NP. In Sɛkpɛle, the relative pronoun used to express indefiniteness is **bǎ** ‘3PL.REL.PRO’. It occurs as an independent relative pronoun or is attached to other pronouns, especially the plural pronouns. This is illustrated in:

- 1261) **alebe** [**bǎ** **leyenko** **mə**] **ni Akonto ku**
 álébé **bǎ** **lè=** **yé** **-n-** **-kó** **má** **ní Akonto kú**
 however **3PL.REL.PRO** **REL=** **walk** **LIG** **ASSOC** **3PL.ACC** **be Akonto and**
Leshiaku
 Leshiaku
 Leshiaku
 ‘However, those who lead them were Akonto and Leshiaku’ (History_amankrado 1.4)

- 1262) **gake** [**bobǎ** **laalaa**] , **bo** **te**
 gake **bòbǎ** **là=** **á-** **lá** **=** **bó** **tè**
 but **1PL.REL.PRO** **REL=** **HAB** **love** **=TOP** **1PL.PN** **only**
laaya **kawǎ** **afa** **nə** .
 là= **á-** **yà** **kà-** **wǎ** **à-** ***fǎ** **nó**
 REL= **HAB** **buy** **INF** **cook** **NCL8** **medicine** **really**
 ‘But we those who love it, it is only us who buys it to prepare medicines really’
 (Pottery 59.2)

- 1263) **mɔ mbu nkə [bibā disu sukuu] ,**
 mɔ́ n̩ = bú n̩kə bíbá lè = sù sùkúù
 1SG.PN 1SG.NOM.PST = think that 2PL.REL.PRO REL = go school
bínkə buensi nə ketu to ntú ɲgbə ,
 bínkə̀ bò = á- n- sí nà kètù tò n̩tù ɲgbà
 2PL.COMP 1PL.NOM = HAB NEG still drink stream POSS water EMPH
ele bo bufi butəə ?
 è = lé̀ bò̀ bùfí bó- tó = ɔ́
 3SG.NOM = hold 1PL.ACC disease NMLZ give =TOP
 ‘As for me, I thought that you who have been to school, you said that we shouldn't drink
 stream water that, it is causing us to be sick?’ (Pottery 142.1)

In example 1261, the relative pronoun is *bǎ* ‘3PL.REL.PRO’ and it occurs alone as an independent relative pronoun. However, the relative pronoun in examples 1262 and 1263 are *bòbǎ* ‘1PL.REL.PRO’ and *bíbǎ* ‘2PL.REL.PRO’ respectively. The relative pronoun *bòbǎ* is a compound of the 1PL pronoun and the indefinite relative pronoun while *bíbǎ* is a compound of the 2PL pronoun and the indefinite relative pronoun.

Singular relative pronouns also exist in Sɛkpele. The 1SG and 2SG relative pronouns are rare. In both cases, their emphatic forms are used (see Emphatic pronouns). On the other hand, the 3SG relative pronouns in Sɛkpele are *wǎ* ‘3SG.REL.PRO’, *wǎ* ‘3SG.REL.PRO’ and *nyǎ* ‘3SG.REL.PRO’. The relative pronoun *wǎ* can be said to be the default and it is used for both animate and inanimate references. The relative pronoun *wǎ* is used for animate reference only while *nyǎ* is used for inanimate reference only. This is illustrated in:

- 1264) **usiənam lee okanto , wə ni [wǎ leeyifo**
 ùsiə̀nám léé ókántò wə́ ní wǎ̀ là = á- yífó
 caretaker or stool father 3SG.PN be 3SG.REL.PRO REL = HAB do
lesa saa lə wə kama] .
 lè- *sá sàà ló wó kámà
 NCL5 thing each LOC 3SG.POSS back
 ‘The caretaker or stool father, he is the one who does everything on his behalf’

(King_making 19.3)

- 1265) **ete** **bənkə** **məmə** **ole** **ni** [**wǝ**
 é= té bənkə məmə ó- *lè ní **wǝ**
 3SG.NOM.PST= show 3PL.COMP 3PL.POSS NCL1 own be **3SG.REL.PRO**
leblobe **nə**] .
 lè= blóbè ná
 REL= wither really
 ‘It showed that theirs was that which had withered really’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

- 1266) **nya** [**wǝ** **leedi** **mfiə**] **luubə**
 nyá **wǝ** **là=** **á-** **dì** **h-** *fiá lò= ó- bá
 then **3SG.REL.PRO** REL= **HAB** **weave** NCL10 cloth REL= FUT come
wuuflo **ənə** **leba** .
 wò= ó- flá à= nè lèbà
 3SG.NOM= FUT clean 2SG.NOM drag rock
 ‘Then the one who weaves clothes will come and clean then you pull rock’
 (Good_old_days 2.8)

- 1267) **eboba** [**nyǎ** **ləmɔ**] ,
 à= bó- bá **nyǎ** **lè=** **mò**
 2SG.NOM FUT break **3SG.REL.PRO** REL= **become big**
ebɔse [**nyǎ** **ləmɔ** **kenke**]
 à= bó- sè **nyǎ** **lè=** **mò** **kénké**
 2SG.NOM FUT pick **3SG.REL.PRO** REL= **become big** all
aba .
 à= bá
 2SG.NOM break
 ‘You will break those which are big, you will gather all those which are big and break’
 (Soap_making 28.1)

Examples 1264 and 1265 have the relative pronoun **wǝ**. The relative pronoun **wǝ** is used for animate reference in (1264) and inanimate reference in (1265). In example 1266, the relative pronoun **wǝ** is used for animate reference. On the other hand, example 1267 has the relative pronoun **nyǎ** which is used for inanimate reference.

The second major parameter by which the relative clauses can vary is how the **NP_{rel}** is expressed. This parameter is known as ‘case recoverability’ (Keenan,

1985:146; Payne, 1997:330). That is, in any relative clause, there is some way of identifying the role of the reference of the head noun within the relative clause. The role of the NP within the RC can be different from the role of the head noun within the main clause. There are several strategies that languages may employ to recover the role of the clause-internal NP. One such strategy is the ‘gap strategy’ which works for languages that have a fairly fixed constituent order, used to express the grammatical relations of the core nominals in a clause. In such languages a missing argument is obvious. The gap strategy may leave the relative clause in these languages ambiguous. Isthmus Zapotec is a VAP language that allows an **NP_{rel}** to be coded with a gap, but renders it useless as a case recovery strategy (Payne, 1997:330). In an instance where the gap strategy is insufficient or fails to be of use as a case recovery strategy, pronoun retention is employed. In this strategy, a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the **NP_{rel}**, by its position, its form, or both, is retained within the relative clause. Such languages that employ pronoun retention includes Hebrew and Urhobo (Kwa; Nigeria) (Keenan, 1985:146).

English allows the relative pronoun strategy (Rel Pro), a relativizer plus gap strategy (Rel + gap), and an unmarked ‘no relativizer’ plus gap strategy (No Rel) (Payne, 1997:333). Lango, a Nilotic language of Uganda, employs a relativizer *ámé* that is invariant no matter what the inherent properties or grammatical relation of the **NP_{rel}** are (Noonan, 1992:215). Turkish employs the ‘participial relative clause strategy’ (Payne, 1997:327). A language may allow a combination of any or all the strategies in the same environment and it is difficult to determine what semantic nuances are conveyed, if any, by the various allowable structures. Sekpele employs a combination of the relative pronoun, relativizer plus gap strategy (Rel Pro,

Rel + gap) depending on which elements of the relative clause are being relativized.

Details will be provided in sections which deal with each relativized element.

The final typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is which elements can be relativized. Keenan & Comrie (1977:66) argue on the basis of data from fifty languages, that languages vary with respect to which NP grammatical functions can be relativized, and that their variation is not random. They proposed the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) shown below where ‘>’ means ‘it is more accessible than’.

**Subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > genitive > object of
comparison**

A given position on the AH is understood as specifying a set of possible grammatical distinctions that a language may take and that languages may not necessarily distinguish all these categories or may employ other syntactic processes. In terms of the AH, they also propose the Hierarchy Constraints (HCs) and the Primary Relativization Constraint (PRC) which states that every language must have a *primary* RC-forming strategy which is used to relativize at least the subject. Toba Batak (a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken in Sumatra) has a primary strategy, which is postnominal and –case (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). However, direct objects cannot be relativized using this or any other strategy in Toba. The only way to achieve the semantic effect of relativization, is first to passivize the underlying sentence, and then relativize on the derived subject.

10.4.1 Subject relativization

Subject relativization is when the head of the relative clause bears the subject role within the relative clause. Sekpele employs the gap strategy in subject relativization.

Note that the same syntactic structure is employed in focus, emphatic and content questions. The difference between subject relativized clauses and the others is that the former employs a relative pronoun which occurs after the head noun and before the verb of the relative clause. The relative pronoun occurs alone or is compounded to the determiner. This is illustrated in:

- 1268) **efi** **okpe** [**ǎ** **lebo** **kalo**]
 à= fí ò- *kpé ǎ lè= bó kálò
 2SG.NOM take NCL3 bowl CL3.REL.PRO REL= get out down
efi **ətəkə** **okpe** **bamba** **əsua** .
 à= fí à= tókó ò- *kpé bàmbà əsúó
 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on NCL3 bowl another body
 ‘You take a bowl which has holes underneath it and put it on another bowl’
 (Soap_making 18.2)

- 1269) **dikpafi** [**nǎ** **nkpe** **seflo**] **alabe**
 lè- *kpáfí nǎ ñ= kpé séflò à- lábé
 NCL5 child CL5.REL.PRO REL= have laziness PFV sleep
 ‘The child who is lazy is asleep’ (Miscellaneous 16.1)

- 1270) **osaibi** **əmə** **leba** **lewākplibi** **nəmə**
 ò- *sàíbí á- mó lè= bá lé- wà *kplíbí nó- mó
 NCL1 boy CL1 the REL= break NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the
 ‘It is the boy who broke the cooking pot’ (Verbs 336.1)

Example 1268, 1269 and 1270 are similar in terms of their syntactic structure. However, examples 1268 and 1269 are relative clauses while example 1270 is a subject focus or emphatic clause. In all cases, the subject has been moved from its original position in the clause to an external slot leaving a gap in the original slot. What distinguishes examples 1268 and 1269 from example 1270 is that the former are reiterated with the relative pronoun which is lacking in the latter. What makes examples 1268 and 1269 subject relativized clauses is the fact that the subject of the relative clause and not the subject of the main clause is relativized. In (1268), the

head of the relative clause *ɔkpé* ‘bowl’ is the object of the verb *fí* ‘take’ but the subject of the relative clause. In (1269), the head of the relative clause *dikpófi* ‘child’ is the subject of the relative clause as well as the subject of the main clause. All the previous examples in this section are subject relativized clauses.

10.4.2 Object relativization

Object relativization is when the head of the relative clause is understood as having the object role inside the relative clause. Sekpele employs the gap strategy in object relativization just as subject relativization. However, whereas the relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization no matter what the subject of the relative clause is, in object relativization, the relativizer is only required when the subject is a noun. If the subject is a pronoun, the relativizer is not required. The relative clause is however indicated by the relative pronoun which occurs after the head of the relative clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1271) *kufuo* [*kuā* *osani* *ā* *leya*] *nyə* *lə*
 kò- *fùó *kuǎ* ò- *sàní á *lè=* *yà* *nyó* *lá*
 NCL7 vehicle CL7.REL.PRO NCL1 man CL1.DEF REL= buy stand LOC
obia
 òbíá
 community centre
 ‘The vehicle the man bought is standing at the public square’ (Miscellaneous 97.1)

- 1272) *eso* *wə* *ni* *lekpome* [*nā*
 ésò *wê* *ní* *lè-* *kpòmé *nǎ*
 therefore 3SG.PN be NCL5 chair CL5.REL.PRO
uufo *nə*]
 ó= ò- fò *nó*
 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT receive really
 ‘Therefore that is the stool he had received really’ (History_amankrado 3.23)

- 1273) **itsyi** **sitə** [**siǎ** **buusu**
 é= tsyì sè- *tá **siǎ** bò= ó- sù
 3SG.NOM.PST= come from NCL11 soil **CL11.REL.PRO** 1PL.NOM= FUT go
butsyi] .
 bò= tsyí
 1PL.NOM= carry
 ‘It depends on the soil we will go and carry’ (Pottery 195.1)

Examples 1271, 1272 and 1273 are all object relativized clauses. In (1271), the subject noun and the relative clause consist of the relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, in examples 1272 and 1273, the subject of the clause is a pronoun. The relative clauses in these cases consist of only a relative pronoun. There is no place for the relativizer since the proclitic slot of the verb is already being filled by the subject pronoun. The objects of ditransitive verbs can also be relativized. This is illustrated in:

- 1274) [**kā** **ke** **baater** wə la] ,
kǎ ké bá= à- téyí wə lá
CL9.REL.PRO any 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV tell 3SG.ACC TOP
wuuyifo
 wò= ó- yífó
 3SG.NOM= FUT do
 ‘Any of what they had told him, he will do’ (King_making 14.8)

- 1275) **otəno** **ofo** **atabi** [**nyǎ**
 ó= tónə ó= fə àtábí **nyǎ**
 3SG.NOM.PST= accept 3SG.NOM.PST= receive money **CL6.REL.PRO**
mintə wə]
 m̀= n- tá wə
 1SG.NOM= EMPH give 3SG.ACC
 ‘He received the money I gave him’ (Verbs 496.1)

1276)	otonɔ			ofo		[	wɔ̃	
	ó =	tónɔ̃		ó =	fɔ̃		wɔ̃	
	3SG.NOM.PST =	accept		3SG.NOM.PST =	receive		3SG.REL.PRO	
	mintə			atabi nyǎ]		
	mì =	n-	tá	àtábí	nyǎ			
	1SG.NOM =	EMPH	give	money	CL6.DEF			
	‘He accepted and hosted the person whom I gave the money’							

Examples 1274 and 1275 have the ditransitive verbs *téyí* ‘tell’ and *tɔ̃* ‘give’ respectively. Both examples have their themes relativized. Example 1276 is the counterpart of 1275 where the dative is relativized. The above relative clauses employ only a relative pronoun and not a relativizer because of their subject pronouns. This will be different if the subject of the relative clause is a noun. Examples 1275 and 1276 are quite different in terms of the number of participants. Example 1275 has three participants while example 1276 has four participants. The dative of the relative clause in (1275) is co-referential to the subject of the main clause while they are different in (1276). To have a dative relativized clause with the same participant as (1275), the relative clause has to occur in the subject position in the sentence as illustrated in:

1277)	[	wɔ̃		mintə			atabi nyǎ		]	otonɔ
		wɔ̃		mì =	n-	tá	àtábí	nyǎ		à tónɔ̃
		3SG.REL.PRO		1SG.NOM =	EMPH	give	money	CL6.DEF		PFV accept
		ofo								
		ó =		fɔ̃						
		3SG.NOM.PST =		receive						
	‘The person whom I gave the money has accepted and received it’									

10.4.3 Oblique relativization

Oblique relativization is where an oblique element is relativized. Since a relativized oblique clause is not a core argument of the main clause, it can occur anywhere in

1278) bəbə		ta	boofonde			utsyuə	
bá =	bé	tá	bó =	ò-	*fòndé	ó-	tsyúá
3PL.NOM.PST =	come	shoot	1PL.POSS =	NCL1	pregnant woman	CL1	some
balo		lə		dibiə		[	nə
bá =	lò	lɔ		lè-	*bíà		ně
3PL.NOM.PST =	kill	LOC		NCL5	hole		CL5.REL.PRO
beesu		ketsyi	ntu]	.		
bá =	á-	sù	kà-	tsyí	ńtù		
3PL.NOM.PST =	HAB	go	INF	carry	water		
‘They shot and killed one of our pregnant women at the well that they use to fetch water from’							
(History amankrado 1.9)							

Relativized temporal clauses entail time and dates and are illustrated in:

- 1280) **eso** **bueyifo** **nya** **lə** **diyi** [**nǎ**
 ésò bò = á- yífó nyá lá lé- *yì nǎ
 therefore 1PL.NOM = HAB do 3SG.ACC LOC NCL5 full day **CL5.REL.PRO**
bakoko **lǎetsyə**] **ini** **Ləbɔ** .
 bà- *kòkó là = á- tsyð è = ní Lèbð
 NCL2 ancient **REL =** **HAB** put 3SG.NOM = be Ləbɔ
 ‘Therefore we perform it on the day the ancestors install which is Ləbɔ’ (King_making 2.28)

- 1281) [**lèfənákə** **ósòmí** **lənɪ**], **wəəbə**
 lèfənáká ósòmí lè = ní = wà = á- bá
 whenever rain REL = fall = TOP 3SG.NOM = HAB come
 ‘Whenever it rains, he comes’ (Adverbs 21.1)

Relativized circumstantial clauses entail a circumstance under which an event is said to have happened. This is illustrated in:

- 1282) **ukpə** **ukpə** [**ǎ** **nkpe** **sebua**]
 ó = kpá ùkpá ǎ ñ = kpé sè- búà
 3SG.NOM.PST = to die death **CL3.REL.PRO** REL = exist NCL11 bad
 ‘He died a violent death’ (Verbs 239.1)
- 1283) **boofɔ** **fə** **butu** [**any time**] **bəə**
 bò = ó- fó fə bò- tú báə
 3PL.NOM = FUT be able 2SG.ACC NMLZ uninstall 3PL.COMP
amanyə **lə** **afi** [**ǎ**
 á = n- à- n- yé lá á- fi ǎ
 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG walk LOC NCL8 rule **CL8.REL.PRO**
nkpe **lə** **lekpa** **nǎ** **əsua**]
 ñ = kpé lá lé- *kpá nǎ àsúá
 REL = exist LOC NCL5 custom CL5.DEF top of
 ‘They will be able to depose you any time that you haven't walked according to the rules
 which exist in the custom’ (King_making 12.10)

10.4.4 Genitive relativization

Genitive or possessive constructions involve two NPs, the possessor and the possessum, and either of which could be relativized. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessum and the possessive construction may consist of the

possessive particle *(é)tò*. Possessive constructions involving a pronoun possessor occur in juxtaposition to the possessum. Kinship terms relating to parents are also juxtaposed to their possessor. Relativization of any of the NPs in a possessive construction may involve subject, object, or oblique relativization depending on the role that the head of the relative clause plays in the relative clause. This is illustrated in:

- 1284) **Mate tsya əsiə lə [kakā [bəəsiə] to**
 Mate tsyâ à- síó ló **kàkǎ** bá= à- sí -ə **tò**
 Mate too PFV dwell LOC **place** 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV **POSS**
kakā [baala mfó] eto kama] .
kàkǎ bá= à- là mǎfó **eto** kámà
place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut there **POSS** back
 ‘Mate too settled behind where they had settled at the back of where they were allocated’
 (History_amankrado 3.11)

- 1285) **kakā [seka siǎ nkpe] eto utidi ɔni**
kàkǎ sé- *ká siǎ **ɲ= kpé eto** ò- *tídi ò- *ní
place NCL11 chief CL11.DEF **REL= exist POSS** NCL1 person CL1 one
butsyi mfó bókə ku mə
 bó- tsyì mǎfó bó- kó kú má
 FUT come from there FUT join with 3PL.ACC
 ‘A person from where the chieftaincy exists will join with them’ (King_making 2.1)

- 1286) **nya beefi baka bəmə to [wǒ**
 nyá bá= à- fǐ bá- *ká bá- má **tò wǒ**
 then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take NCL2 chief CL2 the **POSS 3SG.REL.PRO**
ləələkə mə kenyə fenkə otsyami]
là= á- lókə má kènyê fê níkə ò- *tsyámí
REL= HAB remove 3PL.POSS mouth like that NCL1 spokesperson
 ‘Then they took the one who speaks on behalf of the chiefs like a spokesperson’
 (History_amankrado 3.35)

1287)	bǎ	to	aye	[	bobǎ	nsi	mfo	kola	[
	bǎ	tò	à-	*yê	bòbǎ	̀̀=	sí	̀̀fò	kó lá
	3PL.REL.PRO	POSS	NCL6	name	1PL.REL.PRO	REL=	dwelt	here	even
	lenyi			] ]	Onanto	ate	mə	asa	
	lè=	n-	yí		ònántó	à-	té	má	à- *sá
	REL=	NEG	know		Almighty God	PFV	show	3PL.ACC	CL6 thing
	əmfó								
	á-	mfó							
	CL6	that							
	‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’								
	(Punishment 1.10)								

Examples 1284 and 1285 are relativization of the possessor while examples 1286 and 1287 are relativization of the possessum. Example 1284 has two relative clauses one of which is embedded in the other. Both clauses are involved in the relativization of location. The head of the first clause is the oblique of the verb *sí* ‘dwell’ while that of the second clause is the object of the verb *lǎ* ‘cut’. The second clause acts as the possessum of the first clause whose possessum is *kámà* ‘back’. Example 1285 is also a relativized location which is the oblique of the verb *kpé* ‘exist’. The relative clause in (1286) is subject relativization while that of (1287) is object relativization. The subject of the relative clause in (1287) is itself subject relativization.

10.4.5 Relativization of comparison

Comparative constructions in Sɛkpele involve a serial verb construction usually of a property verb and the comparative verb *só* ‘surpass’. This is illustrated in:

1288)	ukulə		oso		oka		əmə	
	ó=	kúlǎ	ò=	só	ó-	*ká	á-	má
	3SG.NOM.PST=	become tall	3SG.NOM=	surpass	NCL1	chief	CL1	the
	‘S/he is taller than the chief’			(Miscellaneous 4.1)				

1289)	uyi		kobe	oso		oka		əmə	
	ò=		yí	kòbé	ò=	só	ó-	*ká	á- mǎ
	3SG.NOM=	know	wisdom	3SG.NOM=	surpass	NCL1	chief	CL1	the
	‘He is wiser than the chief’				(Miscellaneous 5.1)				

Example 1288 has the serial verbs *kúlǎ* ‘become tall’ and *só* ‘surpass’ while example 1289 has the serial verbs *yí* ‘know’ and *só* ‘surpass’. Since serial verb constructions are just like mono-verbal clauses, the subject and the object can be relativized.

Below are relativized counterparts of the previous examples:

1290)	wǎ		dikulǎ		oso		oka		əmə
	wǎ		lè=	kúlǎ	ò=	só	ó-	*ká	á- mǎ
	3SG.REL.PRO	REL=	become tall	3SG.NOM=	surpass	NCL1	chief	CL1	the
	‘The person who is taller than the chief’				(Miscellaneous 98.1)				

1291)	wǎ	nyi	kobe	oso		oka	əmə		
	wǎ	h=	yí	kòbé	ò=	só	ó-	*ká	á- mǎ
	3SG.REL.PRO	REL=	know	wisdom	3SG.NOM=	surpass	NCL1	chief	CL1 the
	‘The person who is wiser than the chief’					(Miscellaneous 99.1)			

1292)	oka		ǎ		ukulǎ		oso		
	ó-	*ká	ǎ		ò=	kúlǎ	ò=	só	
	NCL1	chief	CL1.REL.PRO	3SG.NOM=	become tall	3SG.NOM=	surpass		
	‘The chief whom he is taller than’				(Miscellaneous 100.1)				

1293)	oka		ǎ		uyi		kobe	oso	
	ó-	*ká	ǎ		ò=	yí	kòbé	ò=	só
	NCL1	chief	CL1.REL.PRO	3SG.NOM=	know	wisdom	3SG.NOM=	surpass	
	‘The chief whom he is wiser than’				(Miscellaneous 101.1)				

Examples 1290 and 1291 are relativized subjects while examples 1292 and 1293 are relativized objects. Examples 1290 and 1291 employ both a relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, examples 1292 and 1293 employ only a relative pronoun. It is important to note that if the subject of examples 1292 and 1293 were nouns, a relativizer would be attached to the verb. In all cases, a gap strategy is employed in both subject and object relativization.

10.5 Coordination

Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements (Haspelmath 2007:1). The units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences. All languages possess coordinate constructions of some kind, but there is a lot of cross-linguistic variation. Each language may possess a wealth of different coordinate constructions that are related to each other in complex ways. Coordinate constructions may have a particle or an affix called the coordinator that serves to link the units of the construction. Units of any coordination are referred to as coordinands. The basic semantic types of coordination include conjunction, disjunction, and adversative coordination. This section discusses these types of coordination in Sekpele.

10.5.1 Conjunction

In many languages, the semantic-syntactic type of coordinands is relevant for the choice of the coordinators (Haspelmath 2007:20). The most widespread contrast for conjunction is that between NP conjunction and event conjunction. The use of different formal means for expressing NP conjunction and event conjunction is the major pattern in the world's languages. Welmers (1973:305) states that he is not aware of any African language that expresses NP conjunction and event conjunction in the same way. This contrasts with European, Palaeosiberian, Mixtecian and Austronesian languages where the same form is used for both NP and event conjunctions. Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú* 'and/with' for NP conjunction and the particles *ēyē* 'and' and *nyá* 'and/then' for event conjunction.

10.5.1.1 NP conjunction

Sekpele employs the comitative particle **kú** ‘and/with’ to link NPs. In many of the world’s languages, the conjunctive coordinator for NPs is identical in shape with the marker for accompaniment (Haspelmath 2007:29). The extension of a comitative marker to express a conjunctive relationship is of course very natural. Haspelmath further demonstrates why comitative conjunction in most languages is a type of conjunction separate from comitative construction given semantic and morphosyntactic evidences. The use of the particle **kú** as conjunction is illustrated in:

- 1294) **be kakpe ku asa kenke nkpo fə ɔflo mfó**
 bè kà- *kpé **kú** à- *sá kénké ò= kpó fə ɔflo m̀fó
 see NCL4 bowl **and** CL6 thing all REL= gather 2SG.ACC side there
 ‘See all the bowls and other things beside you over there’ (Pottery 44.1)
- 1295) **alebe bā leyenko mə ni Akonto ku**
 álébé bǎ lè= yé -n- -kó má ní Akonto **kú**
 however 3PL.REL.PRO REL= walk LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC be Akonto **and**
Leshiaku .
 Leshiaku
 Leshiaku
 ‘However, those who lead them were Akonto and Leshiaku’ (History_amankrado 1.4)
- 1296) **ebusu etsyi ntu ku ɔlotsyi** .
 à= bó- sù à= tsyí ntù **kú** ò- *lòtsyí
 2SG.NOM FUT go 2SG.NOM carry water **with** NCL3 drinking pot
 ‘You will go and carry water with drinking pot’ (Buying_name 47.3)

The particle **kú** occurs in examples 1294 and 1295 linking the nouns **kakpé** ‘bowls’ and **àsá** ‘things’; **Akonto** and **Leshiaku** respectively. Example 1295 also contains the associative or comitative marker **-ko** attached to the verb **yé** ‘walk’ to indicate accompaniment. In example 1296, the particle **kú** is used to introduce an instrument.

10.5.1.2 Event conjunction

Event conjunction entails the linkage of two or more clauses. Sekpele employs the particles *éyé* and *nyá* ‘and/then’. It appears that the main strategy Sekpele employs for conjoining clauses is the use of the connective *nyá* which is also used for subordination (see §10.3.7). The particle *éyé* can be said to be a loanword from Ewe.

Event conjunction is illustrated in:

1297)	nya	falabe		nya	bookle		nya
	nyá	fâ =	lábé	nyá	bò =	ó- klé	nyá
	then	2SG.NOM =	lie	then	3PL.NOM =	FUT tie	then
	boota		fə	betsyi			
	bò =	ó- tá	fə	bà =	tsyí		
	3PL.NOM =	FUT shoot	2SG.ACC	3PL.NOM =	carry		
	‘While you lie in it they will wrap and carry you’					(Punishment 5.3)	

1298)	lə eyo		bələkə		bətə		besio	
	lá é =	yó	bà =	lókə	bà =	tá	bà-	*sìó
	if 3SG.NOM.PST =	reach	3PL.NOM =	remove	3PL.NOM =	give	NCL2	woman
	bələkə		bətə		basani			nya
	bà =	lókə	bà =	tá	bà-	*sànî		nyá
	3PL.NOM =	remove	3PL.NOM =	give	NCL2	man		then
	beoma		bidi					
	bè =	ó- má	bè =	dí				
	2PL.NOM =	FUT share	2PL.NOM =	eat				
	‘If it is time, they will give to the women, give to the men then you will share and eat’							
	(Buying_name 31.5)							

- 1299) **ke Akonto wəntsyi lekpakpa nəmə fenke**
 gake Akonto wà= n- tsyí lè- *kpàkpà ná- má fè nkà
 but Akonto 3SG.NOM= EMPH carry NCL5 hat CL5 the like that
seka : seka siã kase bæətə eye
 sé- *ká sé- *ká siã kàsé bá= à- tá éyé
 NCL11 chief NCL11 chief CL11.DEF as 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give and
wə fe ni məmə [spokesman] tsya nkpe nə .
 wê fê ní mómá tsyâ ñ= kpé nó
 3SG.PN already be 3PL.POSS too REL= exist really
 ‘But Akonto, he was carrying the crown like the chieftaincy: the chieftaincy as it was given
 and he already was their spokesman too who existed really’ (History_amankrado 3.42)

Examples 1297 and 1298 have the particle **nyá** as their conjunctive coordinator while example 1358 has the particle **éyé** as its conjunctive coordinator. The particles **nyá** and **éyé** are also used to introduce an additional proposition to a discourse. The particle occurs before the clause and it is illustrated in:

- 1300) **nya betidi luunyə fə kaminse bəbə**
nyá bà- *tídi lò= ó- nyə fə kàmínsə bà= bá
then NCL2 person REL= FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM= come
yankli fə .
 yáŋklí fə
 untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’ (Punishment 12.1)

- 1301) **eye lə bənkə bă dikəsiə baabe ,**
éyé ló bənkə bă lè= kà- síó bá= à- bè
and if 3PL.COMP 3PL.REL.PRO REL= PROG sit 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see
beyifo lefosi betidi inuə : bă
 bá= yífó lè- *fòsi bà- *tídi è- *núə bă
 3PL.NOM.PST= make NCL5 ten NCL2 person CL3 two 3PL.REL.PRO
dikəsiə nə .
 lè= kà- síó nó
 REL= PROG sit really
 ‘And if they say those who have sat before, they are twelve people: those who have sat really’
 (History_amankrado 3.120)

- 1302) **eye** **dinə** **ke** **baahɪa** , **wə** **la** ,
éyé díná ké bà = á- hiǎ wə lá
and the day any 3PL.NOM = PROSP need 3SG.ACC TOP
elebəə **ubə** .
é = lè báə ò = bá
3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = come
‘And any day they shall need him, it is necessary he comes’ (King_making 14.5)

Example 1300 has the particle *nyá* while examples 1301 and 1302 have the particle *éyé* introducing an additional proposition to the discourse.

10.5.2 Disjunction

In contrast to conjunction, Sekpele employs the particle *léé* ‘or’ for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. It is common that most languages employ a single form for NP disjunction and event disjunction. While conjunctive coordinators are thus often selective with respect to the semantic-syntactic type of the coordinands, this is less true of disjunctive coordinators. Languages that employ different coordinators for NP and event disjunction are relatively few (Haspelmath 2007:21). Some languages are also selective with respect to which coordinand types they even allow to be coordinated. For instance a language may allow event disjunction and not NP disjunction. Disjunction in Sekpele is illustrated in:

- 1303) **usienam** **lee** **okanto** , **wə** **ni** **wə** **leeyifo**
ùsìènnám **léé** ókántô wə ní wǎ là = á- yífó
caretaker **or** stool father 3SG.PN be 3SG.REL.PRO REL = HAB do
lesa **saa** **lə** **wə** **kama** .
lè- *sá sàà ló wó kámà
NCL5 thing each LOC 3SG.POSS back
‘The caretaker or stool father, he is the one who does everything on his behalf’
(King_making 19.3)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1306) | lesanə | nkpe | | ini | | lekpa | | nã | |
| | lèsàná | ̀̀= | kpé | è= | ní | lé- | *kpá | nǎ | |
| | something | REL= | exist | 3SG.NOM= | be | NCL5 | custom | CL5.REL.PRO | |
| | nkpe | la | , | mə | loote | | wə | lee | mə |
| | ̀̀= | kpé | lá | mô | lò= | ó- | té | wə | léé mō |
| | REL= | exist | TOP | 1SG.PN | REL= | FUT | show | 3SG.ACC | or 1SG.PN |
| | luuyifo | | ntə | | wə | lə | umbə | | . |
| | lò= | ó- | yífó | ̀̀= | té | wə | lá ò= | n- | bá |
| | REL= | FUT | do | 1SG.NOM= | give | 3SG.ACC | if 3SG.NOM= | NEG | exist |
| | ‘Whatever exists which is the custom which exists, it is I who will show him or do it for him if he is not available’ | | | | | | | | |
| | (King making 10.5) | | | | | | | | |

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10.5.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is the coordinative linking of two syntactic elements that display some form of semantic contrast. The terms adversative and concessive have been used interchangeably to refer to the function of denial of expectations by some authors. However, they are distinct such that adversative functions in the domain of coordination while concessive functions in the domain of subordination (Malchukov 2004:175). Adversative coordination is always binary and must consist of two coordinands. Sekpele employs the particles *gàké* ‘but’ and *vɔ* ‘but’: both of which are loanwords from Ewe. Whereas the particle *gàké* is used to make contrast between two clauses and between propositions in a discourse, the particle *vɔ* is only used to contrast propositions within a discourse. This is illustrated in:

- 1307) **bo ku mə ditsyi nse gake bəbə du**
 bó kú mǎ lè= tsyì òsé **gake** bá= bá dú
 1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL= come from there **but** 3PL.NOM.PST= come leave
lə mə ɔflo eso la , məmə bakpe dibia
 lá mǎ ɔflǎ ésò lá mǎmǎ bà= kpé lè- *bíð
 LOC 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM= exist NCL5 cave
 ‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a cave’
 (History_amankrado 1.14)

- 1308) **gake lə awã lə slivaa , sliva**
gake lǎ á= wǎ lǎ slívà = slívà
but if 2SG.NOM.PST cook LOC aluminium pot =TOP aluminium pot
ɔflo kedufə lə kofa kuɔ ɔsuə .
 à- flǎ kà- dúfǎ lǎ kò- *fà kuɔ́ ɔsúǎ
 PFV wash INF enter LOC NCL7 medicine CL7.DEF body
 ‘But if you cook in an aluminium pot, residues of the aluminium pot enter the medicine’
 (Pottery 47.7)

1309) *vɔ̌ lə nyamfo əsuə la , Akonto wə fe usi mfó*
vɔ̌ lə nyàmfø əsúə lá Akonto wê fê ò = sí m̀fó
but LOC this body TOP Akonto 3SG.PN already 3SG.NOM= dwell there
koko ini Akontokrom fe usi mfó koko .
kókó è= ní Akontokrom fê ò = sí m̀fó kókó
 already 3SG.NOM= be Akontokrom already 3SG.NOM= dwell there already
 ‘But in this sense, Akonto he already dwelled there, that is Akontokrom already dwelled there’
 (History_amankrado 3.46)

The particle *gàké* is used to make a contrast between two clauses in example 1307. In examples 1308 and 1309, the particles *gàké* and *vɔ̌* are used respectively to make a contrast between a following proposition and a preceding one within a discourse. In both cases, the particle occurs before the clause indicating its contrast to an antecedent proposition mentioned earlier in the discourse.

10.6 Summary

This chapter discussed clause combinations and complex constructions in Sekpele. Topics include multi-verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and coordination. Sekpele distinguishes between three types of multi-verb clauses: (1) serial verb constructions; (2) overlapping clauses; and (3) consecutive constructions. Serial verb constructions entail a sequence of verbs which function as a single predicate: they are mono-clausal. Overlapping clauses are bi-clausal constructions with switch-function such that the object of the first clause is the subject of the first clause. Consecutive constructions on the other hand are multi-clausal constructions, whose components represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time.

Complement clauses function as core arguments of the main clause they occur in. Sekpele employs nominalization for subject and complementation for object.

Complement clauses in Sɛkpele are introduced by the complementizer *ńkə* ‘COMP’ which is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has a corresponding clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. Complement clauses are used in relation to verbs of utterance, perception, cognition, manipulation, desideration and modality.

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function of time, location, manner, purpose, reason, circumstance, simultaneity, condition, concession, substitution, addition, and absolute. Adverbial clause in Sɛkpele discussed in this chapter include temporal clauses, locative clauses, manner clauses, purpose clauses, reason clauses, simultaneous clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses and sequential clauses.

This chapter also discussed relativization strategies in Sɛkpele. Relative clauses in Sɛkpele are postnominal and they entail a relative pronoun and a relativizer depending on whether the subject of the relative clause is a noun or a pronominal. The relativizer is attached to the verb if the subject of the clause is a noun and it is absent if the subject is a pronominal. The rationale is that since the pronominal and relativizer share the same slot and in this case the slot is being occupied by the pronominal, there is no other slot to be filled by the relativizer. The relativizer is also used in other constructions such as content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. All positions on Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized. In terms of case recovery, Sɛkpele employs the gap strategy across all elements on the Accessibility Hierarchy.

The types of coordination in Sɛkpele include conjunction, disjunction and adversation. Sɛkpele employs the comitative particle *kú* for NP conjunction and the particle *nyá* and *éyé* for event conjunction. Contrary to conjunction, Sɛkpele

employs the particle *léé* for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. Unlike conjunction and disjunction, no native particle has been accounted for in terms of adversative coordination. The particles employed in this chapter are *gàké* and *vɔ* which are loanwords from Ewe. It is possible that Sekpele may have indigenous means of expressing semantic contrast between two syntactic elements but it has not been captured in this work.

11 CONCLUSION

11.1 Research overview

This thesis is a documentation and description of Sekpelé, a Kwa language spoken along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border by the people of the Likpe traditional area. It belongs to the linguistically diverse group of Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages (GTM), spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana (Ameka, 2002, 2007, 2009a, 2013; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008). The language is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe: Bakwa, Nkwanta, Mate, Bala, Todome, Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi.

Chapter one provides a general introduction to the Likpe people and their language. Section 1.1 presents ethnographic and demographic information about the Likpe people which includes their geographic location, brief history, economy, education and their religious affiliation. Historic accounts suggest that the Likpe people and the GTM at large are Guangs. This account is greatly supported by the oral traditions of the people. However, indigenous knowledge has been disregarded in the classification of the language group. Instead the current location of the language group has been employed in their classification, thus the name Ghana-Togo Mountain (GTM) languages. A vivid migrational history has been provided in this thesis for consideration in a possible reclassification. Section 1.2 looks at the genetic classification of Sekpelé, and gives a brief account of its dialects, language continuum and community multilingualism. Sekpelé is a descendent of the proto-language *Sele* ‘language’ which includes *Sekwá* and *Sele* (spoken by the Santrokofi people). Sekpelé is sub-divided into (1) *Situnkpa* spoken predominantly in Agbozome, Avedzime and Koforidua; (2) *Semate* spoken in Mate and Abrani; (3)

Sela spoken in Bala and Kukurantumi. This sub-division is based on tribal autonomy rather than clear dialectal differences. Section 1.3 provides the methodology employed in the course of the research, which adopts a participant observation and fieldwork-based approach. Activities undertaken during the research period include fieldwork, data analysis, and write-up of this thesis. A total of 33 audio and 150 video files were collected in the field. The videos document spontaneous activities, which include storytelling, funerals, marriages, industrial activities, and community-based activities. Audio recordings were, on the other hand, collected during sessions of elicitation. All the 33 audio files have been processed and interlinearized with the software tool FLE_x. A sample of 11 of the 150 video files have so far been transcribed and analysed.

Chapter two provides literature reviews of some pertinent topics, especially issues and previous research relating to Sekpele and Ghana Togo Mountain (GTM) languages as a whole. Section 2.1 deals with language documentation and description. Himmelmann (2006) and Mosel (2006) are reviewed. Section 2.2 deals with the controversy surrounding the genetic classification of the GTM languages. It addresses the fact that most linguists have neglected the accounts of the native speakers regarding their migrations, while relying on their current geographical location. Most GTM narratives suggest that they are Guangs. Accounts by Bertho, 1952; Blench, 2009; Egblewogbe, 1992; Heine, 1968; Rongier, 1997 suggest a reclassification of the language group. Section 2.3 provides an overview of previous works on Sekpele. It includes publications from the earliest (Westermann & Bryan 1952) to the latest research (Ameka 2013). I also provide a review of the topics addressed by Lomotey (2009) and (Ameka, 2009b), with a criticism of Lomotey's

methodology for the analysis of the vowel inventory in Sɛkpele. I review Ameka's discussion of verb extensions, which are also outlined in § 7.1.3.

Chapter three focuses on the phonology of Sɛkpele. It provides a review of phonological issues outlined and discussed by earlier research on the language, especially the vowel inventory. I provide a detailed account for the ten vowel phonemes which includes new data for the vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. Sɛkpele has two register tones: high and low. Sɛkpele has a falling contour tone which occurs at word-final position, as well as in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels, differing only in tone in a high-low sequence. Rising tones occur in instances where there are adjacent vowels which are identical and have a low and high tone respectively. The syllable structure in Sɛkpele includes V³², N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV. There are two morpho-phonological processes: vowel harmony and nasal assimilation. There are also two kinds of vowel harmony: Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) and height harmony. The direction of the vowel harmony processes is regressive and they occur between the first stem vowel and the prefix vowel such that the stem vowel spreads its features to the prefix vowel. The height harmony in Sɛkpele involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels *i* and *u* or by schwa (ə) in the stem. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sɛkpele: vowel nasalization, and homorganic nasal assimilation. There is an exceptional nasal assimilation which occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive direction employed by other harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to nasal in a nasal-lateral environment.

³² N = nasal; C = consonant; V = vowel; L = lateral; and G = glide

Chapter four discusses the noun morphology of Sɛkpelé. Sɛkpelé has a 12 noun class and concord system. Count nouns consist of singular-plural pairs, while non-count nouns are unpaired. Non-count nouns include single unit entities, mass nouns, abstract nouns and derived nouns. Sɛkpelé also has two sets of agreement class systems – one for determiners (such as the definite article and demonstratives) and the other for the indefinite article, the numeral ‘one’ and pronouns. Each noun obligatorily selects an appropriate modifier from the two sets of agreement classes; these occur in agreement alliteratively. The class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. Stems in isolation are bound forms which require a prefix to be attached to them. Sɛkpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain. Modifier concord applies to noun specifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, and demonstratives: attributive adjectives and intensifiers do not show any agreement with the head noun. All modifiers, with the exception of the definite article, are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns and each modifier carries the appropriate noun class marker of the element it refers to. The third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also show some form of agreement with their modifiers and anaphors, however each member of a class has its unique agreement forms, unlike count nouns where agreement forms attached to a noun class apply to all members of that class. Abstract and mass nouns are not marked by a prefix which expressed number like the count nouns, and therefore are grouped as a class on semantic basis. The expression of concord modifiers and anaphors is based on the structure of each noun, thus, specifier words or pronouns take a prefix that

corresponds to the first syllable of the head noun alliteratively. Finally, Sekpele employs affixation, compounding and reduplication in its noun derivation processes.

Chapter five discusses the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpele. This chapter is divided into four sections: (1) simple noun phrases; (2) complex noun phrases; (3) conjoined noun phrases and (4) adpositional phrases. A simple noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and consists of a nominal head and its modifiers following it, in the order qualifiers (adjectives), numerals, determiners and intensifiers. Adjectives do not show any agreement with the head noun. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system. Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers, with the exception of the forms for first and last. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of ordinal numbers. The suffix *-fə* is applied on the numbers ‘two’ and ‘three’ and wherever they occur, while the suffix *-lə* is used elsewhere. The number ‘one’ is distinct for all three number forms: *nùé* for counting, *(CM)-ní* for cardinal, and *tùtə* for ordinal numbers. The counting form for eight and nine are *yèní*, *nàsé* respectively which are also distinct from the cardinals which are *m̀fámflá* and *ǹwà̀nómbə* respectively. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and is prefixed with a class marker. The definite article, indefinite article, proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative are prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the noun. Sekpele has a four-way contrast for demonstratives: *m̀fò*, *m̀fó*, *mə*, and *ǹsé*. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. The other two are used to express proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants, and entities in distal locations respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures. The intensifiers in Sekpele include *sàà* ‘each, every, any’, *àlèè* ‘alone’, *hǎ* ‘only’, *kóŋ* ‘really’, *kplóŋ* ‘alone, only’, *kólá* ‘only’, *páá* ‘really, very much’, *tǎ* ‘all’, *tè* ‘only’,

tètè ‘simply’, *tsyá* ‘too, also’, *kénké* ‘all, completely’ and *pété* ‘all, completely’.

They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They are made up of various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. All noun modifiers with the exception of the definite article and intensifiers have pronoun forms that can function as the head of a noun phrase. These pronouns can also be modified. Complex noun phrases in Sekpele include genitive or possessive constructions and relative clauses. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possessive NPs are represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between them. The choice between these two strategies is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. Some NPs expressing kinship relations have both forms. Relative clauses are postnominal and employ relative pronouns which are portmanteaus of a determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. Sekpele has two prepositions: the locative *lɛ* and the comitative *kú*. The locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express accompaniment and instrument. A noun phrase within an adpositional phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP.

Chapter six discusses pronouns in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are separate wordforms. Section 6.1 discusses personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns,

and object/oblique pronouns. Section 6.2 discusses possessive pronouns; section 6.3 discusses reflexive pronouns; section 6.4 discusses demonstrative pronouns; section 6.5 discusses relative pronouns; section 6.6 discusses interrogative pronouns; section 6.7 discusses indefinite pronouns; while section 6.8 discusses reciprocal pronouns. Most of the pronouns are similar in form but differ in tone. Emphatic pronouns occur in isolation and are used as subjects in focus constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They also vary depending on the tense-aspect-mood (TAM) they occur with and are also influenced by the vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. Object/oblique pronouns are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but differ in tone in some of their components. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that they are free word-forms. Possessive pronouns in Sɛkpele are distinguished by the fact that they all possess a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and either stand alone or are prefixed to the noun they possess as a proclitic. The interrogative pronouns in Sɛkpele include *be* ‘what’, *owoe* ‘who’, *sieti* ‘where’, *ntsyə* ‘how’, *beso* ‘why’, *nte* ‘which’, *ɲgbə* ‘where’, *asia/esia* ‘how much’ and *kulemanfe* ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns stand alone in a clause while others occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners, especially as demonstratives. Some pronouns are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile in terms of location within the sentence. Sɛkpele has an indefinite root morpheme *tsyúá* which is prefixed by class markers, the noun *lèsá* ‘thing’ or the lexical negative morpheme *kò*. When the indefinite root is prefixed with classes 1 and 2, the resultant word is used for reference to animates with the meanings ‘somebody’ and ‘some people’ respectively. All other classes are used in reference to inanimates. There are three

ways by which reciprocation may be realised: the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* occurs alone in a clause; the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns; or the indefinite pronoun *bàtsyúś* co-occurs in apposition with the noun *àśúś* ‘body’.

Chapter seven discusses the verb structure and valency. Section 7.1 discussed the structure of the Sekpélé verb. The language incorporates syntactic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, and causation. A verbal word consists of a verb root plus as many as four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. The verbal root is the stable core of the verb word and is obligatory. The pre-verbal domain includes slots for pre-initial, initial, post-initial, aspect and polarity, and the infinitive prefix *ka-* while the post-verbal domain includes verb extensions such as the causative, associative and stative. Section 7.2 discussed verbs and valency. This section was divided into two broad sections. Section 7.2.1 discussed the semantic classes of verbs and their valency. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). Univalent verbs include voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs. Divalent verbs include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs. The number of trivalent verbs in Sekpele are relatively few and they include *tś* ‘give’, *tə* ‘ask’, *téí* ‘tell’, *té* ‘show/teach’, and *tsyésé* ‘send’. The agent takes the subject role while the goal and the theme are the direct and indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is irreversible. Section 7.2.2 discussed syntactic valency in

Sekpele which includes increasing, decreasing and argument adjusting operations. Valency increasing operations include causatives, comitative or associative, and possessor raising or external possession. The only valency decreasing operation in Sekpelé is object omission. The only argument adjustment operation in Sekpelé is inversion.

Chapter eight discusses tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverb. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs. Section 8.1 discussed tense and aspect in Sekpele. Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are *à-* and *á-* respectively. The imperfective morpheme *á-* is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs *bɔ* ‘come’ and *sù* ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are *(b)ò-* and *(b)ó-* respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Section 8.1.1 discussed the past, perfective and the anterior. Section 8.1.2 discussed imperfective aspects which include the progressive and the habitual. Section 8.1.3 discussed the

two kinds of the future: the primary future and the prospective. Section 8.2 discussed the phasal aspects in Sekpele which include the ingressive/inceptive; progressive/continuative; egressive/completive; and the cessative/terminative. Section 8.3 discussed mood and modality in Sekpele. Topics discussed include agent-oriented modality; speaker-oriented modality; epistemic modality; and subordination. These mood and modalities are represented lexically especially by verbs. Section 8.4 discussed negation in Sekpele and the topics treated include the standard negation; non-standard negation; negation and quantification; and negation and focus. In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may assume a double negation based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON especially the second person. The verb *kpé* has a suppletive negative form *bé* ‘exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction.

Chapter nine discusses clause structures in Sekpele. These include the basic structure of various clause types: simple clause, predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and predicative possessive constructions. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have associated nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it, thus Sekpele is an SVO language. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. A

predicate adjective clause is one in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. They occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb *kpe* in predicate position. Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. In predicate function, they occur as copula complements to the 'do-verb' *yifo* and the positional verb *tə*. There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives can be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix. However, it is the latter two that can occur as predicate clauses. In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle *nə*, placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *nə* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase, just as a demonstrative does. It lays emphases on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position. An existential construction in Sekpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two forms of the locative/existential verb: *kpe* 'be.at, exist' and *kɛ* 'be.at:NPRES'. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence. Sekpele has a set of 17 or more contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction. The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. The general topological verbs include the enclosure or containment verb *kpe* 'be.in/exist', contact and support verb, *təkə* 'be.on', coincidence verb, *tə* 'be.at', and propinquity or proximity

verbs, *fi* and *kpíŋ* ‘be.near’. The postural verbs include *sí* ‘sit’, *nyó* ‘stand’, *lábè* ‘lie’, *fàkà* ‘hang’, *yómà* ‘hang’ and *kpósè* ‘lean’. The distributed configuration verbs include *tí* ‘cover’ and *kpó* ‘be spread, heaped’. The adhesive verbs include *má* ‘be fixed’ and *mánklà* ‘be stuck to’. The locomotive verbs include *tó* ‘go towards’ and *tsyì* ‘come from’, however the verb *tsyì* has not been discussed in this chapter because of its distinctiveness from the rest of the verbs. It is the only verb that takes TAM in this list. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are *kpé* ‘have, exist’, *lé* ‘hold’, *tó* ‘be.at’, *nyó* ‘see, find’ and *tsyí* ‘carry’. The verb *kpé* ‘have, exist’ can undergo Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. The possessor in subject position is said to a HAVE-construction, while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction. The other verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker *n-*; or (2) using the negative existential verb *mbó*. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb *hiá* ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that one is not in possession of such an entity. The non-stative existential verb *kè* is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession.

Chapter ten discusses clause combinations and complex constructions in Sekpele. Topics include multi-verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and coordination. Sekpele distinguishes between three types of multi-verb clauses: (1) serial verb constructions, (2) overlapping clauses, and (3) consecutive constructions. Serial verb constructions involve a sequence of verbs which function as a single predicate: they are mono-clausal. Overlapping clauses are

bi-clausal constructions with switch-function such that the object of the first clause is the subject of the second clause. Consecutive constructions on the other hand are multi-clausal constructions whose components represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time. Complement clauses are clauses which function as core arguments of the main clause they occur in. Sekpele employs nominalization for subject and complementation for object. Complement clauses in Sekpele are introduced by the complementizer *ńkè* 'COMP' which is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has its correspondent clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. Complement clauses are used in relation to verbs of utterance, perception, cognition, manipulation, desideration and modality. Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function of time, location, manner, purpose, reason, circumstance, simultaneity, condition, concession, substitution, addition, and absolute. Adverbial clauses in Sekpele discussed in this chapter include temporal clauses, locative clauses, manner clauses, purpose clauses, reason clauses, simultaneous clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses and sequential clauses. Relative clauses in Sekpele are postnominal and require a relative pronoun and possibly also a relativizer, depending on whether the subject of the relative clause is a noun or a pronominal. The relativizer is attached to the verb if the subject of the clause is a noun, and it is absent if the subject is a pronominal. The rationale is that since the pronominal and relativizer share the same slot and in this case the slot is being occupied by the pronominal, there is no other slot to be filled by the relativizer. The relativizer is also used in other constructions such as content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. All positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized. In terms of grammatical function

recovery, Sekpele employs a gap strategy across all elements on the Accessibility Hierarchy. The types of coordination in Sekpele include conjunction, disjunction and adversation. Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú* for NP conjunction and the particles *nyá* and *éyé* for event conjunction. In contrast to conjunction, Sekpele employs the particle *léé* for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. Unlike conjunction and disjunction, no native particle has been identified for adversative coordination. The particles employed in this function are *gàké* and *vɔ* which are loanwords from Ewe. It is possible that Sekpele may have an indigenous means of expressing semantic contrast between two syntactic elements but it has not been identified in this work.

11.2 Contribution to linguistic description

This thesis is the third major descriptive grammar of a GTM language after Dorvlo (2008) on Ikpana (Logba) and Bobuafor (2013) on Tɔgbɔ (Tafi). There is also a documentation project on Tutrugbu (Nyagbo) led by James Essegbey. This thesis has provided historic accounts which may aid the reclassification of the language group. I have also argued for the consideration of indigenous knowledge in this regard.

Another contribution of this thesis is its approach to language documentation and description. This work has employed recordings from spontaneous activities in addition to elicited data. This was necessary due to the fact that elicited data may not fully capture how the language is spoken and used by a community. Limitations of elicited data include rigidity and the possibility that a consultant may give a word-for-word back translation which may not be a reflection of the actual use of the language. Therefore it is necessary for a descriptive work such as this thesis to include spontaneous data in addition to elicited and stimuli induced data.

The presentation of data in this work is such that each phenomenon discussed is supported with a minimum of two and a maximum of four examples. Most descriptive works fall short in terms of providing supporting data. Data is supposed to give evidence that a phenomenon discussed actually exists in a described language and needs to be adequate. This approach was adopted to challenge the representation of data in descriptive works and to advocate for ‘**data-based**’ work.

Another contribution of this work is the approach to sounds in the language especially the vowel inventory. This work provides an in-depth analysis supporting a 10 vowel system which had previously been analysed as an 8 vowel system. Supporting evidence was drawn from the vowel harmony system in Sekpele. Another challenge posed in this work is the issue of natural classes of sounds. The sounds [i], [u] and [ə] trigger height harmony although they do not form a natural class. This poses some questions about natural classes. Are natural classes universal? Do these phenomena occur in other languages of the world? Should issues of natural classes be approached on a language specific basis?

Typological contributions of this work include the analysis of the noun class system, noun phrase structure, pronouns, verb structure, clause structure and complex constructions. This work also provides a semantic classification of verbs. Nevertheless, there are more topics in the language that may contribute to linguistics as a whole. These topics have been suggested as potential area for further study in the following section.

11.3 Areas for further research

The entire Ghana-Togo mountain (GTM) language group needs attention in terms of documentation and description. There are 14 languages in the group, however, this

work is only the third comprehensive grammar. Typological comparative studies in most aspects of linguistics are also needed for the group. Genetic classification has been an issue and is still under discussion and further work in this area is plausible.

Although this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive descriptive grammar of the main areas of morph-syntax, it is just a scratch on the surface. There are topics within and outside this work that need further detailed study. A sociolinguistic study of the Likpe people is necessary. This includes the use of the language in daily activities, for rites and ceremonies such as marriage, funerals, public meetings and festivities. Most of the traditional sociocultural practices are dying out and being replaced by new religious customs, especially Christianity. For instance, the Likpe people traditionally employ a six day calendar for rites and ceremonies. However, nobody remembers the names of the days of the week, except the terms *lèbɔ* ‘good day’ and *lèbíáyì* ‘bad day’. *Lèbɔ* is a day for performing ceremonies such as marriages, mentorship and visiting the ancestral stool room. It is believed that *lèbɔ* is a day of good fortune such that ceremonies performed on this day flourish or prosper. These days, it is not mandatory. A person or group may decide to ‘buy a day’ where rites are performed to replace *lèbɔ* with an ordinary day to perform their ceremonies. *Lèbíáyì*, on the other hand, is a taboo day when people refrained from work, especially on their farms. However, this day is not adhered to in the modern setting.

Another area of potential interest is ritual language and poetry. Ritual languages have their unique vocabulary that can often be linked to an ancient form of the language. I had the opportunity to document the ritual language used for marriage and funerals. There is a wealth of other repertoires of ritual language. I also had the opportunity to document some folktales and riddles, however these are just a few of

the rich cultural store maintained by current older speakers. There are repertoires of various stories that the elderly have which are not being passed down to the younger generation.

Another area of potential interest is anthropological and ethnobotanical studies. I had the opportunity to document the process of palmwine production. Likpe is a palmwine culture due to the fact that all rites and ceremonies require the use of palmwine. I was amazed at the wealth of vocabulary I recorded for the instruments used in tapping palmwine and the parts of the palm tree. These vocabularies are used in this context or in reference to it. Similarly rich vocabularies surely exist in other culturally and socially significant domains that are yet to be properly explored.

Another area of study is discourse analysis and information structure. This may include strategies for introducing a new referent, tracking of information, reintroduction of reference, and methods for turn-taking and other conventional structures in Sekpele. Focus constructions are an area for future detailed study.

Routine expressions are another area that needs detailed study. This includes social encounters and their act sequences, greetings, gratitude expressions, expressing congratulations, sympathy, farewell, disclaimers and expressions addressed to people at work. They are likely to have their own unique grammar and pragmatic implicatures. For instance, the elaborate greeting system of Sekpele is based on **EXISTENCE** and **WELLBEING**. The morning greeting is *ɛsiɔ̀* which is an exclamation of existence. The addressee responds with *ɛsiɔ̀ ɔ̀ɔ̀*, a counter expression of existence. Then the addresser continues with *álàbèè*, enquiring whether the addressee slept well. The addressee responds with a counter expression *álàbè kpò̀̀*. Then the addresser continues with *ákpé àléé*, enquiring about the wellbeing of the addressee who follows it with a counter response. The greeting routine ends and a

conversation follows thereafter. The afternoon and evening greetings begin with the expression *siè* which is a wish for the existence for both parties. The response may be *wàà kàtè òò* ‘lit: Yeah, how is it?’ especially during the afternoon. The welcoming expression for people arriving from a journey or from work is *ṣṣ*. The word *ṣṣ* is homonymic to the word *ṣṣ* ‘stranger/sojourner’. On this note I end with the gratitude expression:

maaso		mi		ani	
mà =	á-	só	mí	a-	*nî
1SG.NOM =	PROSP	hit	2PL.ACC	NCL8	arm
‘I thank you’ lit: I wish to hit you in the hand/palm					

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Cognates in Sekpele and Sele

Sekpele	Sele	English gross
sele	sele	language
kato	kato	sky (heaven)
mmi	mmie	today
diyi kple	diyi kple	a great day
kofa	kɔfa	month
kuse	kuse	tomorrow
disi	disi	head
lefosi	lefosi	ten
ana	ana	four
mba	mba	salt
ɔkle	ɔkle	pepper
ntu	ntu	water
ketu	katu	river
usuonkobi	osankobi	girl
kamɔ	kamɔ	rice
ukpə	ukpi	death
oka	ɔka	chief
ɔtɔnɪ	ntɔnɪ	firewood
ɔfɔ	ɔfɔ	stranger
sefa	sefa	grass
kɔnɪ	kɔnɪ	arm/hand
kokpa	kɔkpa	leg

Cognates in Sekpele and Sele adapted from (Mensah-Edzesi, 2004)

Appendix 2: 2007 Education Policy of Ghana

The key points of the new education system include; (1) Universal Basic Education shall now be 11 years, made up of: 2 years of Kindergarten, 6 years of Primary School, 3 years of Junior High School (JHS); (2) The medium of instruction in Kindergarten and Lower Primary will be a Ghanaian language and English; (3) At the basic level, emphasis shall be on Literacy, Numeracy, Creative Arts and Problem Solving Skills; (4) After JHS, students may choose to go into different streams at Senior High School (SHS), comprising General Education and Technical, Vocational and Agricultural and Training (TVET) or enter into an apprenticeship scheme with some support from the Government; (5) A new 4-year SHS will offer General Education with electives in General, Business, Technical, Vocational and Agriculture options for entry into a tertiary institution or the job market; (6) Technical, Vocational and Agricultural Institutions will offer 4-year courses including the core SHS subjects; (7) Teacher Training Colleges will be upgraded and conditions of service of teachers improved, with special incentives for teachers in rural areas; 8. Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) shall be responsible for the infrastructure, supervision and monitoring of Basic and Senior High Schools; (9) A new National Inspectorate Board (NIB) outside the Ghana Education Service (GES) but under the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (MOESS) shall be responsible for periodic inspection of Basic and Secondary Schools to ensure quality education; 10. Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) and cost-sharing at the Senior High and tertiary levels shall be maintained; (11) Educational services will be widened to include Library and Information, Guidance and Counselling and Distance Education; (12) The private sector will be encouraged to increase its participation in the provision of educational services; (13) Greater emphasis will be put on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and Science and Technology; (14) Special Needs Education will be improved at all levels. (http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=331:ministry-of-education&catid=74:ministries&Itemid=224) accessed 2011-12-28

Appendix 3³³: Semantic types and syntactic functions of adjectives in Sekpele

Semantic type	Attributive	Predicative	Gloss
Dimension	kplê (I), kpétékpété (I)	mò (V), àkplê (DN)	big
	kèkè (I), kémíní (I)	fê (V), ákèkè (DN)	small
	kèntsyènkìè (I)	kúlá (V)	long
	kèntsyènkìè (I)	tákà (V)	tall
	tínkplí (I), kítíkpó (I)	tínkplí (I), kítíkpó (I)	short
	sónsò (V), sònsònsònsò (RDV)	sónsò (V)	wide
	tsyó (V), tsyóntsyó (RDV)	tsyó (V)	deep
	téntlé (I)	téntlé (I)	shallow
Age	fófó (I)	áfófó (DN)	new
	kókó (I)	àkókó (DN)	old
	bémbé (RDV)	bé (V)	old (growth)
	-	-	young
Value	sé (I)	lékè (V), òséí (DN)	good
	búà (DAdj)	bú (V), àbúà (DN)	rotten/bad
		bíá (V)	bad (spoilt)
		kòńó (N)	nice
		híá (V)	important
	bìmbà (I)		useless
Colour	náà (DAdj)	ná (V), ànáà (DN)	dark (black)
	síà (DAdj)	sé (V), àsíà (DN)	fair (red)
	flúbìà (DAdj)	flúbì (V), àflúbìà (DN)	bright (white)

³³ Abreviation used in the appendix: I = Ideophonic adjective; V = Verb-like adjective; N = Noun-like adjective; DN = Derived Noun; RDV = Reduplicated Verb; DAdj = Derived adjective (from verb); PV = Phrasal Verb.

[illegible]

		lèté (I)	unlike/different
		sìkpí (N)	strange
Quantification	kénké (I)	kénké (I)	all/whole/completely
	kpè (I), kpèkpè (I)	kpè (I), kpèkpè (I), fui (I)	many/much
	èsìàní, séké (I)	séké (I), ké (I)	few
	(ə)tsyúá	(ə)tsyúá	some
	màtè (INT)		only
		ùtú (N)	enough
Position		békátó (bé kátó)	high (climb up)
		bákásô (bá kàsô)	low (come down)
		fí (V)	near
	fǎ (I)	tsyó (V)	far
	sìmànî (N)		left
	sìdìànî (N)		right
Ordinals	tùtá		first
	léfèfè		last

Semantic types and syntactic functions of adjectives in Sekpele

Appendix 4: Numeral system of Sekpele

Number	Counting numbers	Cardinal numbers	Ordinal numbers
1	nùé (lèwé)	lòní, òní, kòní, sòní, kàní, àní, bàní	tùtá, dí-tùtá, litùtá
2	núà	ìnúà	ìnúà-fè
3	h̄tsyá	h̄tsyá	h̄tsyá-fè
4	ínà	énà	énà-lè

5	nnó	enó	enó-lè
6	nkùá	èkùá/àkùá	èkùá-lè
7	nkùánsè	àkùánsè	àkùánsè-lè
8	yèní	mámflá	mámflá-lè
9	nàsé	nwònbó	nwònbó-lè
10	lèfòsì	lèfòsì	lèfòsì-lè
11	lèfòsì-lèwé	lèfòsì-lèwé	lèfòsì-lèwé
12	lèfòsì-nnúà	lèfòsì-nnúà	lèfòsì-nnúà-fè
13	lèfòsì-ntsyá	lèfòsì-ntsyá	lèfòsì-ntsyá-fè
14	lèfòsì-ínà	lèfòsì-ínà	lèfòsì-ínà-lè
15	lèfòsì-nnó	lèfòsì-nnó	lèfòsì-nnó-lè
16	lèfòsì-nkùá	lèfòsì-nkùá	lèfòsì-nkùá-lè
17	lèfòsì-nkùánsè	lèfòsì-nkùánsè	lèfòsì-nkùánsè-lè
18	lèfòsì-mámflá	lèfòsì-mámflá	lèfòsì-mámflá-lè
19	lèfòsì-nwònbó	lèfòsì-nwònbó	lèfòsì-nwònbó-lè
20	àfòsì ³⁴ -ènúà	àfòsì-ènúà	àfòsì-ènúà-lè
21	àfòsì-ènúà-lèwé	àfòsì-ènúà-lèwé	àfòsì-ènúà-lèwé
22	àfòsì-ènúà-nnúà	àfòsì-ènúà-nnúà	àfòsì-ènúà-nnúà-fè
23	àfòsì-ènúà-ntsyá	àfòsì-ènúà-ntsyá	àfòsì-ènúà-ntsyá-fè
24	àfòsì-ènúà-ínà	àfòsì-ènúà-ínà	àfòsì-ènúà-ínà-lè
25	àfòsì-ènúà-nnó	àfòsì-ènúà-nnó	àfòsì-ènúà-nnó-lè
26	àfòsì-ènúà-nkùá	àfòsì-ènúà-nkùá	àfòsì-ènúà-nkùá-lè

³⁴ Some dialects use àwòsì

27	àfòsì-ènúà-àkùánsè	àfòsì-ènúà-àkùánsè	àfòsì-ènúà-àkùánsè-lè
28	àfòsì-ènúà-ṁfámflá	àfòsì-ènúà-ṁfámflá	àfòsì-ènúà-ṁfámflá-lè
29	àfòsì-ènúà-ḥwòńómbó	àfòsì-ènúà-ḥwòńómbó	àfòsì-ènúà-ḥwòńómbó-lè
30	àfòsì-ètsyó	àfòsì-ètsyó	àfòsì-ètsyó-lè
40	àfòsì-ánà	àfòsì-ánà	àfòsì-ánà-lè
50	àfòsì-ànó	àfòsì-ànó	àfòsì-ànó-lè
60	àfòsì-àkùá	àfòsì-àkùá	àfòsì-àkùá-lè
70	àfòsì-àkùánsè	àfòsì-àkùánsè	àfòsì-àkùánsè-lè
80	àfòsì-ṁfámflá	àfòsì-ṁfámflá	àfòsì-ṁfámflá-lè
90	àfòsì-àwòńómbó	àfòsì-àwòńómbó	àfòsì-àwòńómbó-lè
100	kòlòfá	kòlòfá	kòlòfá-lè
200	àlòfá-ènúà	àlòfá-ènúà	àlòfá-ènúà-fè
1000	kòkpí	kòkpí	kòkpí-lè
2000	àkpí-ènúà	àkpí-ènúà	àkpí-ènúà-fè
10000	àkpí-lèfòsì	àkpí-lèfòsì	àkpí-lèfòsì-lè
100000	àkpí-kòlòfá	àkpí-kòlòfá	àkpí-kòlòfá-lè
200000	àkpí-àlòfá-ènúà	àkpí-àlòfá-ènúà	àkpí-àlòfá-ènúà-fè
1 million	kòmé	kòmé	kòmé-lè
2 million	àmé-ènúà	àmé-ènúà	àmé-ènúà-fè
1 billion	àmé-àmé	àmé-àmé	àmé-àmé-lè
Last			fèfè

Numeral system of Sekpele

Appendix 5: Inherent complement verbs

Verb phrase	Verb meaning	Noun meaning	Combined meaning
bé kátó	bé ‘climb’	kàtò ‘up’	increase/rise
bé létsyá	bé ‘climb’	létsyá ‘roof’	announce
bá kásó	bá ‘come’	kàsô ‘down’	decrease
bókó kásó	bókó ‘bring’	kàsô ‘down’	lower
bú dísi	bú ‘wet’	dísi ‘head’	think
dí ètikí	dí ‘eat’	ètikí ‘words’	speak
fǎ dikùbí	fǎ ‘blow’	dikùbí ‘horn’	blow horn
fǎ òfimi	fǎ ‘blow’	òfimi ‘whistle’	whistle with lips
fó káyó	fó ‘weed’	kàyó ‘debt’	pay (debt)
fò ùtá	fò ‘receive’	ùtá ‘fire’	get hot
kásé àsá	kásé ‘study’	àsá ‘thing’	learn
kósó òkó	kósó ‘sound’	òkó ‘cough’	cough
kpé àfifi	kpé ‘put’	àfifi ‘tickle’	tickle
kpé kéní	kpé ‘put’	kéní ‘dirt’	poison
kpé síkpí	kpé ‘put’	síkpí ‘fright’	threaten
kpé sìkpí	kpé ‘put’	sìkpí ‘fright’	be ugly
kpé sèbúá	kpé ‘put’	sèbúá ‘evil’	wicked/be ugly
kpé ùfièbí	kpé ‘put’	ùfièbí ‘air’	inflate
là ètikí	là ‘cut’	ètikí ‘words’	lie
lé úbí	lé ‘bring forth’	ùbí ‘child’	give birth
lé kólé	lé ‘hold’	kólé ‘advice’	advise
lókà kàsô	lókà ‘remove/reveal’	kàsô ‘down’	explain
lókà ètikí	lókà ‘remove/reveal’	ètikí ‘words’	discuss
mà símà	mà ‘laugh’	símà ‘laughter’	smile/laugh
mó dísi	mó ‘plait’	dísi ‘head’	plait hair
nì ètikí	nì ‘refuse’	ètikí ‘words’	deny
sé àkònkí	sé ‘plant’	àkònkí ‘knee’	kneel
sè kúsà	sè ‘sing’	kúsà ‘song’	sing
sè kèkú	sè ‘sing’	kèkú ‘cry’	sing dirges
sè ùkú	sè ‘sing’	ùkú ‘story’	tell story
sí káyó	sí ‘exist’	kàyó ‘debt’	owe
sí kòlá	sí ‘exist’	kòlá ‘dream’	dream
síé mbí	síé ‘excrete’	mbí ‘faeces’	fart
só mbí	só ‘hit’	mbí ‘faeces’	fart
só ànî	só ‘hit’	ànî ‘hand’	thank
tà èsúsó	tà ‘forget’	èsúsó ‘body’	forget

tó díwì	tó ‘throw’	díwì ‘sweat’	sweat
tó kúsè	tó ‘throw’	kúsè ‘song’	sing
tó ólá	tó ‘throw’	ólá ‘prayer’	pray
tó àtsyòlò	tó ‘throw’	àtsyòlò ‘riddles’	tell a riddle
tó ùkú	tó ‘throw’	ùkú ‘story’	tell a story
tò ètìkí	tò ‘ask’	ètìkí ‘words’	question
té síkpí	té ‘show’	síkpí ‘fright’	fear
tá àkòṇṇò	tá ‘give’	àkòṇṇò ‘snore’	snore
tá kúsú	tá ‘give’	kúsú ‘road’	permit/allow
tá m̀b̀ùàyé	tá ‘give’	m̀b̀ùàyé ‘answer’	answer/reply
téí sídíá	téí ‘tell’	sídíá ‘lie’	lie
tsyè ètìkí	tsyè ‘put/place’	ètìkí ‘words’	interrogate
tsyè kàsò	tsyè ‘put/place’	kàsò ‘down’	start
tsyè ónwé	tsyè ‘put/place’	ónwé ‘rest’	rest
wì kéwì	wì ‘dance’	kéwì ‘dance’	dance
wì kèkú	wì ‘cry’	kèkú ‘cry’	cry
yínsè kàfó	yí-n-sè[pain-LIG-CAUS] ‘cause pain’	kàfó ‘belly’	provoke

Table: Inherent complement verbs

Appendix 6: Sekpele Texts

This appendix contains four selected texts, collected and analysed with the software tool FLEEx. These texts were selected due to the fact that they with cultural topics that are now relatively endangered. The first two consist of narratives: *ɔ̀b̀èké* (mode of punishment) and mentorship. The last two are examples of procedural discourse, in this instance, involving the making of spices and soap. The mode of punishment text deals with the practice whereby offenders are put in a cage and paraded through the streets. This practice has been outlawed due to dignity and human rights issues. Mentorship is still being practised but it is rare. The use of homemade spices has been relegated to a select few individuals due to the widespread use of commercial spices. Indigenous soap is still in production due to the abundance of cocoa pod, its main raw material. However it is also now competing with industrialised and

commercialised soaps. The pseudo names of the participants in the discourse have been used.

i) Òbèké-Mode of Punishment

File name: 20130127-001_Punishment

This narrative was given by Michael Asamoah (Akompì) and Gerald Ansah Kunutse (Konko) on 27th January 2013. It gives an account of the mode of punishment which existed before the current judicial system.

Akompì:

1.1 **manle** **futsyuə** **to** **kasə**
 n- à- n- lé f= ùtsyúə tò kàsô
 NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land
afo .
 à= fò
 2SG.NOM receive
 ‘Don't seize somebody's land’

1.2 **ěhěě** **futsyuə** **to** **kasə** **esu** **alə**
 ěhěě f= ùtsyúə tò kàsô à= sù à= lé
 surely 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM go 2SG.NOM hold
ke **afo** .
 ké à= fò
 CL9.ACC 2SG.NOM receive
 ‘Surely somebody's land, you go and seize’

1.3 **be** **nyamfo** **kenke** **fěě** **bíbla** **lisu** **bə** , **əbunyə** ?
 bè nyàmfo kénké fěě bíblà lè= sù bó á= bə- nyə
 see this all before bible REL = go come 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
 ‘See all these before the bible came, have you seen?’

1.4 **lə eyu** **bakpe** **fə** **lə** **ɔbɛkɛ** .
 ló á= yù bà= kpé fə ló ðbèké
 if 2SG.NOM.PST steal 3PL.NOM= put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
 ‘If you steal, they put you in a cage’

1.5 **ẽhẽẽ** **bakpe** **fə** **lə** **ɔbɛkɛ** .
 ẽhẽẽ bà= kpé fə ló ðbèké
 surely 3PL.NOM= put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
 ‘Surely they put you in a cage’

1.6 **balɛ** **fə** **mbusuo** **bomfó**
 bà= lé fə n- *bùsúó bó- mfó
 3PL.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC NCL10 abomination CL10 that
buləkə .
 bó- ləkə
 NMLZ remove
 ‘They are cleansing you of those abominations’

1.7 **nyamfo kenke fe beyi** **nya** **fěẽ** **govimentɪ** **to** **sɛli**
 nyàmfo kénké fè bà= yí nyá fěẽ góvìmentì tò sɛlì
 this all like 3PL.NOM= know 3SG.ACC before government POSS cell
tsya lisu **bə** **banle** **betidi** **kesu**
 tsyâ lè= sù bó bà= n- lé bà- *tídì kà- sù
 too REL= go come 3PL.NOM= EMPH hold NCL2 person INF go
kakpe **lə** **diyo** .
 kà- kpé ló lè- *yó
 INF put LOC NCL5 house
 ‘All these they knew before the inception of government's police cells’

1.8 **miə** **əbunyə** ?
 míə á= bə- nyə
 1SG.COMP 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
 ‘Have you seen what I say?’

- 1.9 **əbunya** **kase Onanto** **lete** **bakoko**
 á = bò- nyè kàsé ònántó lè = té bà- *kòkó
 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see how Almighty God REL = show NCL2 ancient
asa ?
 à- *sá
 CL6 thing
 ‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’

- 1.10 **bã** **to aye** **bobã** **nsi** **mfo kola**
 bã tò à- *yê bòbã òn = sí m̩fô kólá
 3PL.REL.PRO POSS NCL6 name 1PL.REL.PRO REL = dwell here even
lenyi **Onanto** **ate** **mə** **asa**
 lè = n- yí ònántó à- té ḿ̩ à- *sá
 REL = NEG know Almighty God PFV show 3PL.ACC CL6 thing
əmfó .
 á- mfó
 CL6 that
 ‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’

- 1.11 **lə eyu** **la , ele** **bəə**
 lá á = yù lá é = lè b̩́ə
 if 2SG.NOM.PST steal TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP
bakpe **fə** **lə** **əbɛkɛ** .
 bà = kpé fə lá ðbèké
 3PL.NOM = put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
 ‘If you steal, it is necessary that they put you in a cage’

Cephas (Researcher):

2 **be ni əbɛkɛ** ?

bé ní ðbèké

what be cage

‘What is ‘əbɛkɛ’?’

Akompi and Konko, speaking Ewe:

3 [ekele , wafo ekele , abaya , debaya , ako abe ... adza , adza ekuna amɛɲu].

Akompi:

- 4.1 **nya buuyifo bakpo lə ɔbɛkɛ**
 nyá b̀ò = ó- yífó bà = kpó ĺ ̀- *b̀èké
 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM = FUT do 3PL.NOM = pour LOC NCL3 cage
əmə .
 á- ḿ
 CL3 the
 ‘That is what they will put in the cage’

- 4.2 **nya alebe ɔbɛkɛ əmə [is like this]**
 nyá álébé ̀- *b̀èké á- ḿ
 then however NCL3 cage CL3 the
yaamo mə .
 yà = á- m̀ ḿ
 3SG.NOM = HAB become big like this
 ‘Then however the cage is like this; it is usually as big as this’ **English codemixing**

- 4.3 **nya buuyifo nya** .
 nyá b̀ò = ó- yífó nyá
 then 3PL.NOM = FUT do 3SG.ACC
 ‘Then they will do it’

- 4.4 **alebe lə alabe la , bəmuə sekabe**
 álébé ĺ á = ĺ ĺ bà = múá s̀kábè
 however if 2SG.NOM.PST lie TOP 3PL.NOM = catch palm leaf
batsyasə kema efe akpe nya .
 bà = tsyá -s̀ k̀má èfè à = kpé nyá
 3PL.NOM = tie up CAUS then now 2SG.NOM exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘However if you lie in it, then they tie up the palm leaves then you are already in it’

Konko:

- 5.1 **bəfənəfənə kpe loo** .
 b̀fəǹfəń kpé ĺ
 itchy leaves exist UFP
 ‘There are itchy leaves’

5.2 **buuləkə** **fə** **dzimekpə** .
 bə = ó- ləkə fə dzimekpə
 3PL.NOM = FUT remove 2SG.ACC bare-chested
 ‘They undress you bare-chested’

5.3 **nya falabe** **nya bookle** **nya**
 nyá fə = lábé nyá bə = ó- klé nyá
 then 2SG.NOM = lie then 3PL.NOM = FUT tie then
boota **fə** **betsyi** .
 bə = ó- tá fə bà = tsyí
 3PL.NOM = FUT shoot 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = carry
 ‘While you lie in it they will wrap and carry you’

Akompi:

6 **nya bale** **fə** **boyele** .
 nyá bà = lé fə bə- yèlè
 then 3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot
 ‘Then they are hooting at you’

Konko:

7 **lə etsyi** **kalekuə** , **lə betsyi**
 lə á = tsyì kálè *kùs = lə bá = tsyí
 if 2SG.NOM.PST come from area south =TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST = carry
fə mfóó befi fə besu
 fə mfo = bà = fí fə bà = sù
 2SG.ACC there =TOP 3PL.NOM = take 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = go
betsyə lə kalekato to kabanto nse keŋ .
 bà = tsyè lə kálèkátó tò kàbàntó òsé kéŋ
 3PL.NOM = put LOC north area POSS outskirt there far
 ‘From the south, if they carry you from there, they will place you at the furthestmost
 outskirts of the north’

Akompi:8.1 **kabanto nse keŋ lə Lokɔsɪ .**

kàbàntó òsé kéŋ lá Lókòsì

outskirt there far LOC Lokɔsɪ

‘Furthermost outskirts at Lokɔsɪ’

8.2 **m̩fó keŋ buusu bətsyə fə nə .**

m̩fó kéŋ bə = ó- sù bà = tsyà fə ná

there far 3PL.NOM = FUT go 3PL.NOM = put 2SG.ACC really

‘That far they will go and place you really’

Konko:9.1 **nyá booyani fə balabesə mfó**

nyá bə = ó- yàní fə bà = lábé -sà m̩fó

then 3PL.NOM = FUT abandon 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = lie CAUS there

‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’

9.2 **batee , mə luubə yimɪ ɔbeke**

ba- *tê = má lò = ó- bá yimɪ ò- *bèké

NCL2 goat = TOP 3PL.PN REL = FUT come chew NCL3 cage

əmə sɪ̃ fěě fɔɔbo .

á- má sɪ̃ fěě fò = ó- bó

CL3 the for a while before 2SG.NOM = FUT get out

‘It is goats which will come and chew the cage for a while before you will be free’

Akompi:10.1 **əmbə kekuə kǎ bofo**

à = n- bó ká- *kùə kǎ bó- fó

2SG.NOM NEG come NCL4 rope CL4.DEF NMLZ be able

boyankli .

bó- yáŋklî

NMLZ untie

‘You will not be able to untie the ropes’

10.2 **əmbə** **bofo** **boyankli** **lə**
 à = n- bá bó- fó bó- yáŋklî lá
 2SG.NOM NEG come NMLZ be able NMLZ untie HORT
abə
 à = bó
 2SG.NOM get out
 ‘You will not be able to untie and escape’

Cephas:

11 **eso** **lə beyifo** **fə** **nko** ,
 ésò lá bá = yífó fə níkò
 therefore if 3PL.NOM.PST = make 2SG.ACC like that
ebofo **butsyə** ... **siə mfó** [**seven day**] **lə**
 à = bó- fó bó- tsyè síé òmfó lá
 2SG.NOM FUT be able NMLZ stay sit there if
ote **məmbə** **yımı ko** ...
 ò- *tê n- à- n- bá yími kò
 NCL1 goat NEG PFV NEG come chew then
 ‘So if they do that to you, will you be there for seven days if a goat then does not come and chew...?’

Konko:

12 **nya betidi** **luunyə** **fə** **kaminsə bəbə**
 nyá bà- *tídi lò = ó- nyè fə kàmínsè bà = bá
 then NCL2 person REL = FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM = come
yankli fə .
 yáŋklî fə
 untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’

Akompi:

- 13.1 **nya fə bayımı lee fə baxǎǎ** ,
 nyá fǎ bá- *yímí lēē fǎ bà- *xǎ =
 then 2SG.POSS NCL2 sibling or 2SG.POSS NCL2 friend =TOP
məmə luusu baye hēē bəbə
 mǎmǎ lò= ó- sù bà= yé hēé bà= bǎ
 3PL.PN REL= FUT go 3PL.NOM= walk craftily 3PL.NOM= come
bayankli fə .
 bà= yá nkǎ fǎ
 3PL.NOM= untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Then your siblings or friends, they will walk craftily to untie you’

Cephas

- 13.2 **bate əbə yankli fə** .
 bà- *tē à- bǎ yá nkǎ fǎ
 NCL2 goat PFV come untie 2SG.ACC
 ‘Goats have come to untie you’

Konko:

- 14.1 **ēhēē , lə bate əbə bəə baayımı lə**
 ēhēē lǎ bà- *tē à- bǎ bǎə bà= á- yímì lǎ
 surely if NCL2 goat PFV come 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= PROSP chew if
etinkə əsuə la , bootsyetsyi .
 á= tǎnkə əsúá lǎ bǎ= ó- tsyétsyí
 2SG.NOM.PST shake body TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT run
 ‘Surely, if goats come close to chew and you shake your body, they will run away’

- 14.2 **itə eso lefe nəmfó la , kuyu**
 é= tǎ ésò lé- *fē nǎ- mfó lá kúyù
 3SG.NOM.PST= allow therefore NCL5 time CL5 that TOP theft
mambə .
 n- à- n- bǎ
 NEG PFV NEG become widespread
 ‘For that reason, during that period, stealing was not widespread’

Akompi:**15 kuyu mambo**

kúyù n- à- n- b̀̀
 theft NEG PFV NEG become widespread
 ‘Stealing was not widespread’

Konko:**16.1 nya m̀̀m̀ mfo , lə fenkə m̀̀m̀ se ... lə bəə [police station]**

nyá m̀̀m̀ m̀̀f̀ lə fěnkə m̀̀m̀ sé lə bə̀̀
 then now here if assuming now when if 3PL.COMP
ləntə Bala mfo m̀̀m̀ , lə esu
 là= n- t́ Bálá m̀̀f̀ m̀̀m̀ = lə á= s̀̀
 REL= NEG be.at Bala here now =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST go
eyu , nya buutsyi fə m̀̀m̀
 á= ỳ nyá b̀̀ = ó- tsyí fə m̀̀m̀
 2SG.NOM.PST steal then 3PL.NOM= FUT carry 2SG.ACC now
hãã besuko Bekpi ?
 hãã bà= s̀̀ -kó Bèkpi
 through to 3PL.NOM= go ASSOC Hohoe
 ‘Then right now, let’s assume now that there is no police station in Bala here and now,
 if you steal, then will they carry you all the way to Hohoe?’

16.2 imbə nko lee lə etsyetsyi

è= n- b́ ǹ̀ lée lə á= tsyétsyí
 3SG.NOM= NEG exist like that or if 2SG.NOM.PST run
edu ko elo
 á= dú k̀ é= l̀̀
 2SG.NOM.PST leave then 3SG.NOM.PST= be finish
 ‘It is not like that or if you run away then it is finished’

16.3 nya eso kuyu ləbo m̀̀m̀ nə

nyá éso kúyù lè= b̀̀ m̀̀m̀ nə
 therefore theft REL= become widespread now really
 ‘That is why stealing is really rampant now’

16.4 **kɔ** **la** , **ɔbɛkɛ** .

kɔ **lá** **ɔ̀bɛ̀kɛ́**

previously TOP cage

‘Previously, it was the cage’

16.5 **lɔ bakpɛ** **fə** **lɔ** **ɔbɛkɛ kɔ** , **kɔfani mate eso**

lá bá= **kpé fə** **lá** **ɔ̀bɛ̀kɛ́ kò** **kòfàni màté ésò**

if 3PL.NOM.PST= put 2SG.ACC LOC cage then shame alone therefore

la ...

lá

TOP

‘If they put you in a cage then, because of shame alone ...’

Akompi:

17.1 **betəkə** **betidi** **təkə** **fenkə** [fifty or seventy]

bà= **tókə** **bà-** ***tìdì** **tókə** **fè** **ńkə**

3PL.NOM= follow NCL2 person follow like that

bale **fə** **boyele** **ku** **əkpəfi**

bà= **lé** **fə** **bò-** **yèlê** **kú** **à-** ***kpáfi**

3PL.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot with NCL6 child

əkpəfi **kenke hoo** ... **hoo hoo uyu bembé uyu**

à- ***kpáfi** **kénké hòó** **hòó** **hòó** **úyù** **bémbé** **ó=** **yù**

NCL6 child all hoot hoot hoot thief old 3SG.NOM.PST= steal

obladyo oo , **uyu** **legbedi oo** , **usu**

òblàdzyó òó **ó=** **yù** **lègbèdì òó** **ó=** **sù**

plantain TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= steal cassava TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= go

uyu **lebesi** **usi** **oo** ,

ó= **yù** **lèbésì** **ó=** **sì** **òó**

3SG.NOM.PST= steal whole palm fruit 3SG.NOM.PST= harvest TOP

hoo hoo

hòó hòó

hoot hoot

‘They follow, about 50 or 70 people follow and they are hooting at you with children, all the children ‘hoo, hoo, old thief he stole plantain, he stole cassava, he went, stole and harvested whole palm fruit hoo, hoo’

- 17.2 **nya betidi loɔbo kenke nya**
 nyá bà- *tídi lò = ó- bó kénké nyá
 then NCL2 person REL = FUT get out completely then
bale fə boyele nya fěě
 bà = lé fə bò- yèlê nyá fěě
 3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot then before
bentsyi fə
 bà = n- tsyí fə
 3PL.NOM = EMPH carry 2SG.ACC
bantɔnko
 bà = n- tó -n- -kó
 3PL.NOM = EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC
 ‘Then all the people who will get out hooting at you while carrying you away’

- 17.3 **ěhěě ɔbunyə ?**
 ěhěě á = bò- nyə
 surely 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
 Surely have you seen?

- 17.4 **nya eso la , dzɔdzɔme to kobe efe kole**
 nyá ésò lá dzɔdzɔmè tò kòbé èfè ko = lé
 then therefore TOP from creation POSS wisdom now CL7.NOM = hold
keyifo kokokoko fěě ...
 ka- *yífo kókó kókó fěě
 NCL9 work already already before
 ‘Therefore the wisdom of old used to be working already before ...’

Konko:

- 18 **babloni libə ...**
 bà- *blóní lè = bá
 NCL2 white person REL = come
 ‘The Europeans came’

Akompi:

19.1 **babloni libə** .
 bà- *blóní lè = bó
 NCL2 white person REL = come
 ‘The Europeans came’

19.2 **nya eso bonle kaso buləkə kate**
 nyá ésô bò = n- lé kàsô bò- lókə kà- té
 therefore 1PL.NOM = EMPH hold down NMLZ remove INF show
fə nə .
 fə ná
 2SG.ACC really
 ‘That is why we were really explaining it to you’

19.3 **mə bale mə ku [1933] eso**
 mō bá = lé mǝ kú ésô
 1SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST = give birth 1SG.ACC with therefore
mookpa ənəmi səke .
 mó = ò- kpá á- *nəmí séké
 1SG.NOM.PST = ANT become clear NCL6 eye few
 ‘I was born in 1933; therefore I am quite a level-headed person’

Cephas:

20 **nya eso mimbə oto eso**
 nyá ésô mì = n- bá ó- *tò ésô
 therefore 1SG.NOM = EMPH come NCL3 hometown therefore
muubə lə bekate mə .
 mǝ = ó- bá lǝ bǝ = kà- té mǝ
 1SG.NOM = FUT come HORT 2PL.NOM = PROG teach 1SG.ACC
 ‘That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me’

Akompi:

21.1 **alebe wənkə itu dikpəfi buləkə**
 álébé wənkà é= tù lè- *kpəfí bó- ləkà
 however 3SG.COMP 3SG.NOM.PST= meet NCL5 child NMLZ remove
lə lekple .
 ló lèkplê
 LOC outside
 ‘However he says it is time for child outdoorings’

21.2 **ənni nya əsuə ku diyi mflamflalé ?**
 è= n- ní nyá əsúə kú díyì m̀flámflá -lè
 3SG.NOM= NEG be 3SG.POSS body and full day eight ORD
 ‘Isn't it and the eighth day?’

ii) Diye to boya ‘Buying a name’-Mentorship

File name: 20130207-007_Buying_name

Mentorship is a rite upheld by the Likpe people. As the name goes, one buys a name from a noble and elderly person by performing an initial rite. The mentorship is supposed to last throughout the life of the mentor. When the mentor dies, the mentee is supposed to perform a rite to show his/her final respect to his/her departed mentor. This narrative was given by Francisca Kumesi (Dzifa Basabasa) and Vicentia Akposu (Matiko Adzoa) on 7th February 2013. Gloria Akposu (Kumah) was my consultant and interviewer.

Kumah:

l ntsyə beeyifo fe kase fanle
 ñtsyá bá= á- yífó fê kàsé fā= n- lé
 how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB do like how 2SG.NOM= EMPH hold
bətɛɪ mə bæə boowã lesa ?
 bò- téyí mé báə̀ b̀= ó- wã̀ lè- *sá
 NMLZ say like this 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM= FUT cook NCL5 thing
 ‘How do they do it as you were saying they say they will cook food?’

Dzifa Basabasa:

2.1 əbutə wə nte tutə .

à = bó- tá wə ntè tùtá

2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC wine first

‘You will give him/her first wine’

2.2 əbutə wə nte tutə ledzafi lɔnɪ .

à = bó- tá wə ntè tùtá lè- *dzàfɪ lɔ- *ní

2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC wine first NCL5 big wine pot CL5 one

‘You will give him/her some wine first, one big wine pot’

2.3 ɔlɔtsɪ baakpo

ò- *lɔtsɪ bá = á- kpó

NCL3 drinking pot 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB call

‘A drinking pot they call it’

Cephas:

3 be ini ?

bé è = ní

what 3SG.NOM = be

‘What is it?’

Kumah:

4 lə bətəkə diye

lá bá = tákə diyê

if 3PL.NOM.PST = put on name

‘If they place a name on someone’

Dzifa Basabasa:

5 diye

diyê

name

‘Name’

Cephas:

6 [OK OK]

OK OK

Kumah: She switch to Akan to try to explain the topic to me

7 [tɪsɛ]

Dzifa Basabasa:

8 **eso** **əbu** ...
 ésò à = bó-
 therefore 2SG.NOM FUT
 ‘Therefore you will ...’

Kumah: She continued her explanation

9 [yenfa nu sɛ yɛ di mi atu wu]

Dzifa Basabasa:

10.1 **eso** **əbutə** **wə** **litutə** **ɔlotsyɪ**
 ésò à = bó- tɛ wɛ lé- tùtá ò- *lòtsyí
 therefore 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC CL5 first NCL3 drinking pot
baakpo
 bá = á- kpó
 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB call
 ‘Therefore you will give him/her, first, a drinking pot they call it’

10.2 **əbutə** **wə** **ɔlotsyɪ** **ɔnɪ** **kemi**
 à = bó- tɛ wɛ ò- *lòtsyí ò- *ní kɛmí
 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC NCL3 drinking pot CL3 one then
nyafɛɛ faya **diye nə loo** .
 nyáfɛɛ fà = yà dìyê ná lóó
 then 2SG.NOM = buy name really UFP
 ‘You will give one drinking pot then you have bought a name really’

Matiko Adzoa:

11 **oya** **diye**
 ó = yà dìyê
 3SG.NOM.PST = buy name
 ‘S/he bought a name’

Dzifa Basabasa:

- 12.1 **dinuəfə** **olakalotsyɪ** **kplɛ ɔ̃**
 lè- *núà -fə ò- *lákâ *lòtsyí kplɛ ɔ̃
 CL5 two ORD NCL3 storage drinking pot big CL3.DEF
baakpa **kusia** **əmfóó** , **nya**
 bá= á- kpá kó- *síà á- mfó = nyá
 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB gather NCL7 wife CL3 that =TOP 3SG.PN
fookpo **nɛ** **buã** .
 fò= ó- kpó ní- *tè búã
 2SG.NOM= FUT pour NCL10 wine CL10.DEF
 ‘Secondly, the big storage pot which they use for marriage, it is from it you will pour the wine’

- 12.2 **nya fuufi** **esuko** **wə** .
 nyá fò= ó- fí à= sù -kó wə
 then 2SG.NOM= FUT take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘Then you will take it to him/her’

- 12.3 **afo** **diye** **nã** **koŋ** .
 á= fò lè- *yê nã kónŋ
 2SG.NOM.PST receive NCL5 name CL5.DEF really
 ‘You have received the name for real’

- 12.4 **kemi lefenə lə aboko** **nya wuutə**
 kɛmí lɛfɛnə lə á= bóko nyá wò= ó- tá
 then when if 2SG.NOM.PST bring then 3SG.NOM= FUT give
fə **ote** **nkə kətsyə** .
 fə ò- *tê níkə kà- tsyè
 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat that INF keep
 ‘Then when you bring it then s/he will give you a goat to keep’

Matiko Adzoa:

- 13 **nnye oya** **kafia** **kpo utə** **fə** .
 ñnyè ò= yà kà- *fiá kpò ò= tá fə
 perhaps 3SG.NOM= buy NCL9 cloth huge 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Perhaps s/he buys a huge cloth for you’

Dzifa Basabasa:

14.1 **lə utə** **fə** **otee** , **lələ**
 ló ó= **tó** **fə** **òtê** = **lè-** ***lé**
 if 3SG.NOM.PST= give 2SG.ACC goat =TOP NCL5 year
ně **ukpəə** , **ote** **əmə**
 ně **ò**= **kpá** = **ò-** ***tê** **á-** **mó**
 CL5.REL.PRO 3SG.NOM= to die =TOP NCL1 goat CL1 the
foolo **awã** **lekonklo** **akpe** **lə**
 fò= **ó-** **lò** **à**= **wã** **lèkònklo** **à**= **kpé** **ló**
 2SG.NOM= FUT kill 2SG.NOM cook Lèkònklo 2SG.NOM put LOC
litsyitsya **efi** **ətəkə** **tlai** .
lè- **tsyìtsyà** **à**= **fí** **à**= **táká** **tlái**
 NCL5 basket 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on tray
 ‘If s/he gives you a goat, the year s/he dies, the goat you will kill and prepare
 Lekonklo, put in a basket and place on a tray’

14.2 **akpe** ... **efi** **obladyo ətəkə**
à= **kpé** **à**= **fí** **òblàdzyó** **à**= **táká**
 2SG.NOM put 2SG.NOM take plantain 2SG.NOM put on
ətəkə **akebi ətəkə** **bínə** **biě** **ku**
à= **táká** **àkèbí** **à**= **táká** **bé-** ***nə** **biě** **kú**
 2SG.NOM put on beans 2SG.NOM put on NCL12 meat CL12.DEF and
ote **ě** **to** ...
ò- ***tê** **ě** **tò**
 NCL1 goat CL1.DEF POSS
 ‘You put plantain, beans, the meat and the goat's ...’

Kumah:

15.1 **nnəbə** **loo** .
̀n= **lé** **bá** **lóó**
 1SG.NOM= hold come UFP
 ‘I am coming’

15.2 obladzyo , obladzyo sia lee obladzyo kwã ?

òblàdzyó òblàdzyó sé -à léé òblàdzyó kwǎ
 plantain plantain become red ADJV or plantain fresh
 ‘Plantain: ripe plantain or fresh plantain?’

Dzifa Basabasa:

16.1 obladzyo obladzyo kwã kosate .

òblàdzyó òblàdzyó kwá kòsàtè
 plantain plantain fresh ownself
 ‘Plaintain, real fresh plantain’

16.2 efi ote to kalua efi

à =	fí	ò-	*tê	tò	kàlúá	à =	fí
2SG.NOM	take	NCL1	goat	POSS	jaw	2SG.NOM	take
ətəkə		kato	etsyi		lekɔŋklo	nəmə	
à =	tákó	kàtô	à =	tsyí	lèkòŋklò	nó-	mó
2SG.NOM	put on	top of	2SG.NOM	carry	Lèkòŋklò	CL5	the
efi		aboko					
à =	fí	à =	bókó				
2SG.NOM	take	2SG.NOM	bring				
‘You put the goat’s jaw on top of it and you bring the Lekonklo’							

16.3 nya banle bənke

nyá	bà=	n-	lé	bónkà
then	3PL.NOM=	EMPH	hold	3PL.COMP
'Then they say that'				

Dzifa Basabasa and Matiko Adzoa:

17 ' owoe likpə oo ewu likpə oo

òwòé lè = kpá òó éwú lè = kpá òó
 who REL = to die UFP grandmother REL = to die UFP
ukpə **tsya wəŋkpə** **too** .
 ó = kpá tsyâ wá = n- kpá tód
 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet
 ‘Who died? Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’

Kumah:

- 18 ewu likpə oo ukpə tsya
 éwú lè= kpə = ó= kpə tsyâ
 grandmother REL= to die =TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= to die too
 wəŋkpə tɔɔ
 wá= n- kpə tɔɔ
 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG to die yet
 ‘Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’

Dzifa Basabasa, Matiko Adzoa and Kumah:

- 19 tetente si alo wee .
 tètèntè sí à- lò wée
 scorn still PFV be finish completely
 ‘The scorn is still finished completely’

Matiko Adzoa:

- 20 ukpə tsya wəŋkpə tɔɔ
 ó= kpə tsyâ wá= n- kpə tɔɔ
 3SG.NOM.PST= to die too 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG to die yet
 ‘Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’

Dzifa Basabasa, Matiko Adzoa and Kumah:

- 21 tetente si alo wee tetente ’
 tètèntè sí à- lò wée tètèntè
 scorn still PFV be finish completely scorn
 ‘The scorn is still finished completely’

Kumah:

- 22 ‘uwu uwu uwuuuu’
 uwu uwu uwu ùúù
 yodel yodel yodel hoot
 ‘Yodelling’

Dzifa Basabasa:

- 23 ebii oo ukpə uukpə
 èbî = ùkpə ó= ò- kpə
 not-knowing =TOP death 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT to die
 ‘Not-knowing, it is death she died’

Matiko Adzoa:

24 **ənni** **lekente** **loo** .
 è= n- ní lóó
 3SG.NOM= NEG be UFP
 ‘It is not lekente’

Dzifa Basabasa:

25 **tetente** .
 tètèntè
 scorn
 ‘Scorn’

Matiko Adzoa:

26 **okpaye** **fanle** **wə** **butə**
 ò- kpá *yê fà= n- lé wə bò- tá
 NCL1 scorn name 2SG.NOM= EMPH hold 3SG.ACC NMLZ give
 ‘Scorn-name you were giving her’

Kumah:

27 **hãã** **tetente**
 hãã tètèntè
 OK scorn
 ‘OK tetente’

Dzifa Basabasa:

28 **tetente**
 tètèntè
 scorn
 ‘tetente’

Matiko Adzoa:

29.1 **fenkə** **mmi** **lə** **ubi** **eyifo** **lesa** , ...
 fěnkə m̀m̀i lá ò- *bí à- yífó lè- *sá
 assuming today if NCL1 child PFV do NCL5 thing
yaakpa **fə** .
 yà= á- kpá fə
 3SG.NOM= HAB scorn 2SG.ACC
 ‘Assuming today if a child does something It scorns you’

29.2 **nya banle botei**
 nyá bà = n- lé bò- téyí
 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ say
 ‘That they were saying’

Dzifa Basabasa:

30.1 ... **yaakpa fə**
 yà = á- kpá fə
 3SG.NOM = HAB scorn 2SG.ACC
 ‘It scorns you’

30.2 **tetente , se ni sele sekokole nə .**
 tètèntè sé ní sè- *lé sè- *kòkó *lé nə
 scorn CL11.PN be NCL11 language NCL11 ancient language really
 ‘tetente, it is an ancient language’

Matiko Adzoa:

31.1 **nya læ dinə utidi ã labe læ**
 nyá lá díná ò- *tídì ã lábé lá
 then LOC the day NCL1 person CL1.DEF lie LOC
obiaa , ko koŋ fuuyifo
 òbíá = kó kóŋ fò = ó- yífó
 community centre =TOP CL7.PN really 2SG.NOM = FUT do
keyifo nə loo .
 kà- *yífó ná lóó
 NCL9 work really UFP
 ‘Then on the day the person lies in state, you will do the job really’

31.2 **bəmbo ... læ besu kake oko**
 bà = n- bó- lá bá = sù kàké ò- *kê
 3PL.NOM = NEG FUT if 3PL.NOM.PST = go where NCL1 corpse
ã labe .
 ã lábé
 CL1.DEF lie
 ‘They will not ... if they went where the corpse lies’

31.3 **nya buukiti** ... **bəsə** **lə** **kasə** ...
 nyá bə = ó- kútí bà = sá lə kàsô
 then 3PL.NOM = FUT fetch 3PL.NOM = sprinkle LOC ground
ko befi **lefefe**
 kò bà = fí lé- *fêfê
 then 3PL.NOM = take NCL5 remaining
bedunko **besu** **bətsya** .
 bà = dú -n- -kó bà = sù bà = tsyè
 3PL.NOM = leave LIG ASSOC 3PL.NOM = go 3PL.NOM = keep
 ‘Then they will fetch ... sprinkle on the ground ... then take the remainder away to keep’

31.4 **lə besu** **bebikə** **to** **kama tsya** , **nko** **te**
 lə bá = sù bà = bíkə tò kámà tsyâ níkò tè
 if 3PL.NOM.PST = go 3PL.NOM = bury POSS back too like that only
biusə **əsə** **hãã** **biyifo**
 bè = ó- sè á- *sè hãã bè = yífó
 2PL.NOM = FUT sing CL8 song through to 2PL.NOM = do
bidunko .
 bè = dú -n- -kó
 2PL.NOM = leave LIG ASSOC
 ‘After burial too, that is how they will sing throughout while the performance continues’

31.5 **lə eyo** **bələkə** **bətə**
 lə é = yó bà = ləkə bà = tá
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = reach 3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give
besio **bələkə** **bətə** **basani** **nya**
 bà- *sió bà = ləkə bà = tá bà- *sàni nyá
 NCL2 woman 3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give NCL2 man then
beoma **bidi** .
 bè = ó- má bè = dí
 2PL.NOM = FUT share 2PL.NOM = eat
 ‘If it is time, they will give it to the women, give it to the men then you will share it and eat’

31.6 **momo bensi** **awã** .
 mòmó bà = n- sí à- wã
 now 3PL.NOM = NEG still PFV cook
 ‘Now they still don't cook it’

Dzifa Basabasa:

32.1 **bawã** .
 bá = wã
 3PL.NOM.PST = cook
 ‘They cooked it’

32.2 **mɔambe-ninɔ** **Kɔsidu ambee** ...
 mó = ámbê *ninó Kòsídù ámbê =
 1SG.POSS = mother elder Kɔsidu mother = TOP
 ‘My elder maternal aunt, Kɔsidu's mother ...’

Matiko Adzoa:

33 **wə awã wə**
 wê à- wã wè
 3SG.PN PFV cook 3SG.ACC
 ‘She cooked for her’

Dzifa Basabasa:

34.1 ... **Menu to Ritaa** , **wə bətəkə** **wə**
 Ménú tò Rita = wê bá = táká wè
 Menu POSS Rita = TOP 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST = put on 3SG.ACC
nə .
 né
 really
 ‘Menu's Rita, she they name her after really’

34.2 **eso se uukpəə** ,
 ésò sé ó = ò- kpə =
 therefore when 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT to die = TOP
bawã wə .
 bá = wã wə
 3PL.NOM.PST = cook 3SG.ACC
 ‘Therefore when she died, they cooked for her’

34.3 **lekonklo nəmə beetsyi** .
 lèkònkòlò n-é- m-ó bá = à- tsyí
 Lèkònkòlò CL5 the 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV carry
 ‘The lekonklo they carried’

34.4 **kase Ayivor to Nora litsyi lekonklo nã** .
 kàsé Ayivor tò Nora lè = tsyí lèkònkòlò n-ã
 as Ayivor POSS Nora REL = carry Lèkònkòlò CL5.DEF
 ‘As Ayivor's Nora carried the lekonklo’

34.5 **kase beetsyi ni**
 kàsé bá = à- tsyí ní
 as 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV carry CL5.ACC
bantònkò
 bà = n- t-ó -n- -k-ó
 3PL.NOM = EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC
 baayo **mfó mə** .
 bá = à- y-ó m-fo m-é
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV reach there like this
 ‘As they carried it, they were going and they reached there’

- 34.6 **se oko lidufə lə wəsua** ,
 sé ò- *kô lè = dúfó ló w = àsúá
 when NCL1 ghost REL = enter LOC 3SG.POSS = body
bankobe ni , enii nyə mə
 bà = n- kóbé ní èníí nyè mó
 3PL.NOM = NEG hold CL5.ACC probably see like this
letaka mə .
 lè = tákà mó
 CL5.NOM = rise like this
 ‘When the ghost possessed her, if they hadn't held it, probably it would have risen like this’

- 34.7 **itsyise kase baate wəə** ,
 ítsyisé kàsé bá = à- té wə =
 because how 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV show 3SG.ACC = TOP
ənni nko beeyifo .
 è = n- ní íkò bá = á- yífó
 3SG.NOM = NEG be like that 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB do
 ‘Because how they taught her that is not how it is done’

- 34.8 **eso mə nsi kesie minle**
 ésò mô ñ = sí kèsíè mì = n- lé
 therefore 1SG.PN 1SG.NOM = dwell doorway 1SG.NOM = EMPH hold
bətɛɪ nkə ənni nko
 bò- téyí íkà è = n- ní íkò
 NMLZ say that 3SG.NOM = NEG be like that
beeyifo .
 bá = á- yífó
 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB do
 ‘Therefore I sat at the doorway saying that, that was not how it is done’

34.9 **mintsyä****mookpa**

mì = -n- tsyâ mó = ò- kpá
 1SG.NOM = LIG too 1SG.NOM.PST = ANT become clear

ənəmi .

á- *nə́mí

NCL6 eye

‘Me too I am level-headed’

34.10 **bəmutsyi****lekonklo bayɛ****lə**

bà = n- ó- tsyí lèkònkòlò bà = yé ló
 3PL.NOM = NEG FUT carry Lèkònkòlò 3PL.NOM = walk LOC

betidi nti batsylama sīī fěě

bà- *tídi òtí bà = tsylama sīī fěě

NCL2 person between 3PL.NOM = roam a while before

buufi ni besu diyo .

bò = ó- fí ní bà = sù lè- *yó

3PL.NOM = FUT take CL5.ACC 3PL.NOM = go NCL5 house

‘They will not carry lekonklo and roam about in the midst of people for a while before taking it to the house’

Matiko Adzoa:35.1 **oo loo** .

òó lóó

no UFP

‘No!’

35.2 **ənni****butsyi****beetsyi**

è = n- ní bó- tsyí bá = á- tsyí
 3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ carry 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry

ni kinkinki ?

ní kínkínkí

CL5.ACC firmly

‘Isn’t it like that they carry it firmly?’

35.3 **nya kola mimbø nø** .
 nyá kólá mì = n- bó nó
 3SG.PN even 1SG.NOM = EMPH come really
 ‘It even I came really’

Dzifa Basabasa:

36 **eso kase uutsyi ni**
 ésò kàsé ó = ò- tsyí ní
 therefore as 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT carry CL5.ACC
onle botsylama sñĩ , ditutø
 ò = n- lé bò- tsylàmà sñĩ lé- tütø
 3SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ roam a while CL5 first
dinuəfə la , bankøbe ni kato la ,
 lè- *núə -fə lá bà = n- kóbé ní kätø lá
 CL5 two ORD TOP 3PL.NOM = NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP
enii nimble kenke efusø .
 èníí nó- -n- *blé kénké à- fúsø
 probably CL5 LIG all all PFV overturn
 ‘Therefore as she carried it and roaming for a while, first second, if they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned’

Matiko Adzoa:

37 **lø ifusø , bǎ kasø hǎ**
 lǎ é = fúsø bǎ kàsø hǎ
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = overturn 3PL.REL.PRO ground only
luudii !
 lò = ó- dí =
 REL = FUT eat = UFP
 ‘If it overturns, only those on the ground will eat it’

Dzifa Basabasa:

38 **eso se baamlɪnko ni**
 ésò sé bá = à- mli -n- -kó ní
 therefore when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV scramble LIG ASSOC CL5.ACC
beesu diyo kolaa , ale fěě
 bá = à- sù lè- *yó kólá = àlé fěě
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV go NCL5 house even =TOP hard before
lekonklo nɛmfó litsyə kasonti .
 lèkònklo nɔ- mfó lè = tsyè kàsòntí
 Lèkònklo CL5 that REL = stay ground
 ‘Therefore when they even scrambled it home, it was difficult before the lekonklo stayed on the ground’

Matiko Adzoa:

39 **ɛnni butsyiko**
 è = n- ní bò- tsyí -kó
 3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ carry ASSOC
beetsyi ko kesu kasɔnɔ ni
 bá = á- tsyí kó kà- sù kà- sònò ní
 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry CL7.ACC INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC
kətsyə .
 kà- tsyè
 INF put
 ‘Don't they carry it along to off-load’

Dzifa Basabasa:

40.1 **nya te minkə maateri .**
 nyá tè minkə mà = á- téyí
 3SG.PN only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP say
 ‘That alone I want to say’

- 40.2 **eso** **lefe** **nəmfóó** , **se** **utə**
 ésò lé- *fè nǎ- mfó = sé ò = tó
 therefore NCL5 time CL5 that =TOP when 3SG.NOM= give
fə **ote** **eso** , **lə ukpəə** ,
 fə ò- *tê ésò lá ò = kpá =
 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat therefore if 3SG.NOM= to die =TOP
buutə **fə** **kafia** .
 bò = ó- tá fə kà- *fiá
 3PL.NOM= FUT give 2SG.ACC NCL9 cloth
 ‘Therefore that period, since she gave you a goat therefore if she dies, they will give you cloth’

- 40.3 **kafia** **koŋ** , **kǎ** **fakle** **disi buu** ,
 kà- *fiá kón kǎ fà = klé dísi búú
 NCL9 cloth really CL9.REL.PRO 2SG.NOM= wrap head be different
wə **kosate** **to** **kafia** **buuləkə**
 wə kòsàté tò kà- *fiá bò = ó- lókə
 3SG.POSS ownself POSS NCL9 cloth 3PL.NOM= FUT remove
bətə **fə** .
 bà = tá fə
 3PL.NOM= give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Real cloth, that which you wrap the head is different: her own cloth they will give you’

- 40.4 **diye** **to** **kafia** **nə** .
 diyê tò kà- *fiá nǎ
 name POSS NCL9 cloth really
 ‘The name's cloth really’

Matiko Adzoa:

- 41 **nya** **məmə** ... **bǎ** **kenke bətəkə** **mə** ...
 nyá mǎmó bǎ kénké bá = táká mə
 then now 3PL.REL.PRO all 3PL.NOM.PST= put on 1SG.ACC
 ‘Then now all those who were named after me ...’

Dzifa Basabasa:

42 **nya mɔmɔ mfoo** , **lə bətəkə** ... **ətəkə**
 nyá mòmó ìnfô = ló bá= táká à= táká
 then now here =TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST= put on 2SG.NOM put on
ko elo .
 kò é= lò
 then 3SG.NOM.PST= be finish
 ‘Then this time, if they place a name on someone... you take a name then it is finished’

Matiko Adzoa:

43 **nya lə bətə** **mə tsyaa** , **be ɔko**
 nyá ló bá= tɛ mə tsyâ = bè ò- *kô
 then if 3PL.NOM.PST= give 1SG.ACC too =TOP see NCL1 corpse
lə abe osate lee wǔ looya nte .
 ló à= bè òsàté léé wǔ lò= ó- yà nte
 then 2SG.NOM see owner or 3SG.REL.PRO REL= FUT buy wine
 ‘Then if they even give me (something), look at the corpse and its owner or the one who is buying the wine’

Kwami:

44 **ewu mɔ ote fəətə mə**
 éwú mɔ= ò- *tê fá= à- tɛ mə
 grandmother 1SG.POSS= NCL1 goat 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 1SG.ACC
ngbə ?
 ngbè
 where
 ‘Grandma, where is my goat you had given me?’

Dzifa Basabasa:

45 **ətə wə ntee ?**
 á= tɛ wə nte =
 2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC wine =TOP
 ‘Did you give her wine?’

Matiko Adzoa:

46.1 **utə** **mə** **ntu** ?

ó = tó mə ntù
 3SG.NOM.PST = give 1SG.ACC water
 ‘Did they give me water?’

46.2 **Kwami** , **bəṭə** **mə** **ntu**

Kwami bá = tó mə n- *tù
 Saturday-born male 3PL.NOM.PST = give 1SG.ACC NCL10 water
buṣ **bəṭə** **fěě** ?
 buṣ bá = á- tó fěě
 CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give before
 ‘Kwami, did they give me the water they used to give before?’

46.3 **ntu** **buṣ** **beetsyi** **lə**

n- *tù buṣ bá = á- tsyí lə
 NCL10 water CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry LOC
olotsyi **tete** **tete** .
 ò- *lòtsyí tètè tètè
 NCL3 drinking pot simply simply
 ‘The water they simply carry in a drinking pot’

46.4 **lə efi** **abokoo** , **lə ... nyə se**

lá á = fĩ á = bó kó = lá nyè sé
 if 2SG.NOM.PST take 2SG.NOM.PST bring =TOP if see since
kolesa **ənsi** **tə** **məmə mimfi**
 kó- lèsá à- n- sí tó mòmó mì = n- fĩ
 NEG thing PFV NEG still be.at now 1SG.NOM = EMPH take
situ **mintə** **wəə** ,...
 sé- *tù mì = n- tó wə =
 NCL11 metal 1SG.NOM = EMPH give 3SG.ACC =TOP
oya **diye nə** **loo** .
 ó = yà diyê ná lóó
 3SG.NOM.PST = buy name really UFP
 ‘If you bring it, see! Since I don't have anything now and I gave him a coin, then he has bought a name really’

Dzifa Basabasa:

47.1 **ətəə** ?

á = tó =
 2SG.NOM.PST give =TOP
 ‘Did you give it?’

47.2 **lə fenkə əmənnyə nte**

lǎ fěnkə á = n- à- n- nyè ntè
 if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG find wine
ebutsyi ntu .
 à = bó- tsyí ntù
 2SG.NOM FUT carry water
 ‘If assuming you don't get wine, you will carry water’

47.3 **ebusu etsyi ntu ku olotsyi** .

à = bó- sù à = tsyí ntù kú ò- *lòtsyí
 2SG.NOM FUT go 2SG.NOM carry water with NCL3 drinking pot
 ‘You will go and carry water with a drinking pot’

47.4 **diyi olesia tututu efi esuko** ;

díyì òlèsíǎ tútútú à = fí à = sù -kó
 full day morning early 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC
aya diye .
 á = yà diyê
 2SG.NOM.PST buy name
 ‘One early morning, you send the stuff; you have bought a name’

47.5 ... **elo kemi dinə ukpə la** ,

é = lò kè mí dìná ò = kpé lá
 3SG.NOM.PST = be finish then the day 3SG.NOM = to die TOP
ebowã wə lekɔnklo .
 à = bó- wǎ wè lèkònklo
 2SG.NOM FUT cook 3SG.ACC Lèkònklo
 ‘It is finished then the day she dies, you will cook lekɔnklo for her’

Kumah:

48 eso mmmmm ...

$$\text{ésò} \quad \text{mòmó} \quad =$$

therefore now = TOP

‘Therefore now ...’

Dzifa Basabasa:

49.1 nya eso lə amanla

bənke

nyá ésô ló á = n- á- n- lá bónkè

therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG HAB NEG want 3PL.COMP

eso fə la , lə ntu fəə ... se

è= só fê lá lé ntù fàè sé

3SG.NOM= beat 2SG.ACC TOP if water 2SG.COMP since

wəmbə wəmfo wəmbə

wà= n- bé wà= mfô wà= n- bé

3SG.NOM= NEG come 3SG.NOM= this 3SG.NOM= NEG come

nte bofo bunə .

ńtè bò- fọ bó- nẹ

wine NMLZ be able NMLZ drink

‘Therefore if you don't want to lose, if water you say ... since she won't be able to drink wine’

49.2 eso læ ntu te fetsyi ... olesie tu

ésò ló ntù tè fã = tsyí òlèsíè tú

therefore if water only 2SG.NOM= carry morning early

fetsyi fəbə aboko ‘ ewu nyə

fâ= tsyí fâ= b́é à= b́ókó éwú nyè

2SG.NOM= carry 2SG.NOM= come 2SG.NOM bring grandmother see

diye to ntu '.

dìyê tò ntù

name POSS water

‘Therefore if water only you carry ... early morning you bring it 'grandma, here is name's water’

49.3 **lesa nǎ kə unyə utə**
 lè- *sá nǎ kə ò = nyə ò = tá
 NCL5 thing CL5.DEF whatever 3SG.NOM = find 3SG.NOM = give
fə ku nkpə la , utə fə .
 fə kú ñkpə lá ó = tá fə
 2SG.ACC with life TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Whatever thing she gives you in her lifetime, she gave you’.

49.4 **lə ukpə la , ebowǎ wə**
 lá ó = kpə lá à = bó- wǎ wə
 if 3SG.NOM.PST = to die TOP 2SG.NOM FUT cook 3SG.ACC
lekonklo .
 lèkònklo
 Lèkònklo
 ‘If she dies, you will cook lekonklo for her’

49.5 **lə oframe te bəələkə**
 lá òfiàmé tè bá = à- lókə
 if handkerchief only 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV remove
bəətə fə bəə nyə diye to
 bá = à- tá fə bəə nyə diyê tò
 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give 2SG.ACC 3PL.COMP see name POSS
oframe la , ekpa .
 òfiàmé lá é = kpá
 handkerchief TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = become clear
 ‘If only a handkerchief they give you that name's handkerchief, it is clear’.

Matiko Adzoa:

50 **nya fookle ...**
 nyá fò = ó- klé
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT tie
 ‘Then you will tie ...’

Kumah:

51 **nya lə fənkə** ...

nyá lə fěnkə

then if assuming

‘Then if assuming ...’

Kwami:

52.1 **ewu** , **ntsyə beaye**

kato mii

éwú n̄tsyə bé = á- yé kà- t̄ò m̄í

grandmother how 2PL.NOM.PST = HAB walk INF ask 2PL.POSS

bəsə

bà- *sə

NCL2 husband

‘Grandma, how do you ask your husbands out ...’

52.2 **ohoo** ...

òhóò

not-sure

‘Not sure’

Kumah:

53.1 **nnəbə** **loo** !

n̄ = lé bá lóó

1SG.NOM = hold come UFP

‘I am coming!’

53.2 **nya lə fənkə** **manwā**

lekonklo nəmfo .

nyá lə fěnkə má = n- wà lèkònklo n̄- m̄fo

then if assuming 1SG.NOM.PST = NEG cook Lèkònklo CL5 that

‘Then if assuming I don't cook that lekonklo’

53.3 se fə litə mə bikə biəmfó lə fe
 sé fə lè = tǎ mǎ bɛ- *kǎ bíǎ- mfó lá fè
 since 2SG.PN REL = give 1SG.ACC NCL12 item CL12 that if like
manwǎ lekɔnklo nəmfó ?
 má = n- wǎ lèkònkɔlò nǎ- mfó
 1SG.NOM.PST = NEG cook Lèkònkɔlò CL5 that
 ‘Since you gave me those items, if I don't cook the lekɔnklo ...?’

Dzifa Basabasa:

54 atafa əsuə , atafa
 á = táfǎ əsúǎ = á = táfǎ
 2SG.NOM.PST cheat body = TOP 2SG.NOM.PST cheat
wəntsya
 wǎ = -n- tsyǎ
 3SG.NOM = LIG too
 ‘You have cheated yourself and cheated her too’.

Matiko Adzoa:

55 nya mǎmǎ , mǎ əmǎ eso minsi
 nyǎ mǎmǎ = mǎ a- mǎ éso mǎ = n- sí
 then now = TOP 1SG.PN CL1 the therefore 1SG.NOM = NEG still
yi kase kǎ ...
 yí kǎsé kǎ
 know how whatever
 ‘Then now, I in person, I still don't know how whatever ...’

Dzifa Basabasa:

56.1 ewu !
 éwú
 grandmother
 ‘Grandma’

56.2 nko te bəətə nə .
 nǎkò tɛ bá = á- tǎ nǎ
 like that only 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give really
 ‘That is how they often give it really’

56.3 **lə kafia to dinə fəətə wə tsya** ,
 lə kà- *fiá tò dínè fá= à- tá wè tsyâ
 if NCL9 cloth POSS piece 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 3SG.ACC too
ətə wə .
 á= tá wè
 2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC
 ‘If a piece of cloth you had given her too, you gave her’.

56.4 **itsyise mómó ote ... atabi ənsi tə**
 ítsyisé mòmó ò- *tê àtábí à- n- sí tá
 because now NCL1 goat money PFV NEG still be.at
wooya ote utə fə .
 wò= ó- yà ò- *tê ò= tá fə
 3SG.NOM= FUT buy NCL1 goat 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC
 ‘Because now a goat ... money isn't available for her to buy a goat for you’

56.5 **lefənə bəətəkətəkə fəə** ,
 lèfənə bá= à- táká táká fə =
 when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put on put on 2SG.ACC = TOP
lefe nəmfó okpe ale .
 lé- *fè n- mfó ò= kpé àlé
 NCL5 time CL5 that 3SG.NOM= have strength
 ‘When they had placed a name on you, that time she had strength’

56.6 **bate tsya ake wə** .
 bà- *tê tsyâ à- kè wè
 NCL2 goat too PFV exist 3SG.ACC
 ‘She had goats too’.

56.7 **eso lefe nəmfóó** , **eso lefe**
 ésò lé- *fè n- mfó = ésò lé- *fè
 therefore NCL5 time CL5 that = TOP therefore NCL5 time
əmfóó , **lə ate**
 n- mfó = lə á= tè
 CL5 that = TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST know

uutə **ootee** ,
 ó = ò- tá ó = ò- tè =
 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT cause 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT know = TOP
enii mómə ote ... lə ukpə tsya
 èníí mòmó ò- *tê lə ó = kpá tsyâ
 probably now NCL1 goat if 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too
esi wə kayo .
 à = sí wə kàyó
 2SG.NOM dwell 3SG.ACC debt
 ‘Therefore that time, if you knew she had caused her to know, probably now a goat ...
 if she even dies you owe her’.

56.8 **əbukətsyə** **ote əmfó hãã**
 à = bó- kà- tsyà ò- *tê á- mfó hãã
 2SG.NOM FUT PROG keep NCL1 goat CL1 that through to
ese lefenə to lefe wǔ
 é = sé lèfəná tò lè- *fè wǔ
 3SG.NOM.PST = reach when POSS NCL5 time 3SG.REL.PRO
litə ote ǝ likpə .
 lè = tá ò- *tê ǝ lè = kpá
 REL = give NCL1 goat CL1.DEF REL = to die
 ‘You will be keeping that goat throughout until the one who gave the goat dies’.

Matiko Adzoa:

57 **mə se bəətəkə mə diye ote**
 mō sé bá = à- táká mē dīyē ò- *tê
 1SG.PN when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV put on 1SG.ACC name NCL1 goat
ǝ maate fǝē maaya
 ǝ mà = á- té fǝē mà = á- yà
 CL1.DEF 1SG.NOM = HAB sell before 1SG.NOM = HAB buy
kafia .
 kà- *fiá
 NCL9 cloth
 ‘Me, when I was given a name, the goat I sell before I buy cloth’.

Dzifa Basabasa:

58.1 **se fenkə lə utə fə lə**
 sé fěnkə lá ó= té fə lá
 when assuming if 3SG.NOM.PST= give 2SG.ACC if
ole la , emufi
 ó= lé lá à= n- ó- fí
 3SG.NOM.PST= give birth TOP 2SG.NOM NEG FUT take
aboko wə loo .
 à= bókó wə lóó
 2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP
 ‘When assuming, if she had given it to you, if it procreates, you will not bring it to her’.

58.2 **fə lookate ekeyifo lesa**
 fə lò= ó- kà- té à= kà- yífó lè- *sá
 2SG.PN REL= FUT PROG sell 2SG.NOM PROG do NCL5 thing
ně faala .
 ně fà= á- lá
 CL5.DEF 2SG.NOM= HAB wish
 ‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’.

Matiko Adzoa:

59 **oo loo ni bəmufi baboko mə .**
 òó lóó ní bà= n- ó- fí bà= bókó mə
 no UFP be 3PL.NOM= NEG FUT take 3PL.NOM= bring 1SG.ACC
 ‘Oh no, they will not bring it to me’

Matiko Adzoa:

3.1 **bo** **kokoo** , **katoto** **kā** **baa** ...
 bó kókó =ó ka- *tòtó kǎ bá= á-
 1PL.PN old =TOP NCL4 okro CL4.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB
boatakasə **lə** **ɔkwɛɛ** , **keke**
 bó= á- tákà -sə lə ɔkwé = kéké
 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB rise CAUS LOC farm =TOP CL4.POSS
ebibi **keke** **buefi** **kawã**
 à- *bìbí kéké bó= á- fĩ kà- wǎ
 NCL6 seed CL4.PN 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB take INF cook
ebe **blɔblɔblɔ** **itsyə** **eyi**
 è= bé blɔblɔblɔ è= tsyè á- *yì
 3SG.NOM= be cook tender 3SG.NOM= stay NCL6 full day
eyi **eyi** **nyáfěě** **foowo** .
 á- *yì á- *yì nyáfěě fò= ó- wó
 NCL6 full day NCL6 full day then 2SG.NOM= FUT pound
 ‘As of us of old, the okro they harvest from farms, its seeds we used to cook it, to be
 cooked tenderly and keep for several days before you will pound it’

3.2 **lə** **awoo** , **nyáfěě** **fuufi**
 ló á= wó = nyáfěě fò= ó- fĩ
 if 2SG.NOM.PST pound =TOP then 2SG.NOM= FUT take
akpe **likplibí** , **nyáfěě** **fuutsyue**
 à= kpé lè- *kplíbí nyáfěě fò= ó- tsyúé
 2SG.NOM put NCL5 cooking pot then 2SG.NOM= FUT arrange
kabeka **to** **kolo** **efi** **akpo** **abaka**
 tò kòló à= fĩ à= kpó à= báká
 POSS soda ash 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM pour 2SG.NOM stir
efi **ətsyə**
 à= fĩ à= tsyè
 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put
 ‘If you pound it, then you will put it into a pot, then you will arrange soda ash and you
 will add it to it, stir and keep’

3.3 **lə abaka** **ətsyəə** , **yuutsyə**
 lə á= báká à= tsyè =ə yò= ó- tsyè
 if 2SG.NOM.PST stir 2SG.NOM put =TOP 3SG.NOM= FUT stay
fenkə **eyi** **akua lee akuanse nyafěě**
 fě ńkà á- *yì àkùá léé àkùánsè nyáfěě
 like that NCL6 full day six or seven then
eeyo **budi** **nə** .
 é= à- yó bò- dí nó
 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV reach NMLZ eat really
 ‘If you stir and keep, it will stay for say six or seven days then it is ready to be eaten’.

3.4 **nya** **keyifo** **minle** **nə** **eso** **ofo**
 nyá kà- *yífó mì= n- lé nó ésò ófò
 3SG.POSS NCL9 work 1SG.NOM= EMPH hold really therefore spice
bo **koko to** **nyǎ** **bueyifo** **kedi**
 bó kókó tò nyǎ bó= á- yífó kà- dí
 1PL.PN old POSS 3SG.REL.PRO 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB do INF eat
nə .
 nó
 really
 ‘Its job I really do therefore it is the spice we really used to make in the old days to eat’.

Kumah:

4.1 **ewu** !
 éwú
 grandmother
 ‘Grandma!’

4.2 **ntsyə baakpo** **nya** ?
 ntsyá bá= á- kpó nyá
 how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call 3SG.ACC
 ‘How is it called?’

Matiko Adzoa:5 **nyamfo** ?

nyàmfø

this

‘This?’

Kumah:6 **hĩĩ** , **lə eyifo** **nyaa** , **ntsyə**

hĩĩ lə á= yífó nyá = ñtsyé

yes if 2SG.NOM.PST do 3SG.ACC =TOP how

bookpo **nya** ?

bò= ó- kpó nyá

3PL.NOM= FUT call 3SG.ACC

‘Yes, if you make it, how will they call it?’

Matiko Adzoa:7 **nya** **diye te ni ofo** .

nyá diyê tè ní ófò

3SG.POSS name only be spice

‘Its name is only ‘Ofo’

Kumah:8 **nya ewu** **fə** **lekpakpa** , **be**

nyá éwú fə lè- *kpàkpà bé

then grandmother 2SG.POSS NCL5 hat what

beefi **kedinko** **nya** ?

bá= á- fĩ kà- dí -n- -kó nyá

3PL.NOM.PST= HAB take INF eat LIG ASSOC 3SG.ACC

‘Then Grandma, please, what do they eat with it?’

Matiko Adzoa:

- 9.1 **lesanə ke lə usitsye te fanlə bowã**
 lèsánə ké lə ùsítyè tè fã = n- lé bó- wã
 something any if food slice only 2SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ cook
kakpe òkle , ebokpe
 kà- kpé ò- *klé à = bó- kpé
 INF put NCL3 pepper 2SG.NOM FUT put
 ‘Whatever, if it is only food slices you are cooking with pepper/stew, you will put it in’

- 9.2 **kamə te fanwã fakpe ubisia**
 kàmó tè fã = n- wã fã = kpé ùbìsìà
 rice only 2SG.NOM = EMPH cook 2SG.NOM = put palm oil
fabakaa , nya te beedia nə
 fã = báká = nyá tè bè = á- dǎá nó
 2SG.NOM = stir = TOP 3SG.PN only 2PL.NOM = PROSP taste really
 ‘It is just rice you cook, add palm oil and stir, it is it only you will really ingest’

- 9.3 **lə kutu fəə aakpe tsyaa , nko**
 lə kó- *tù fəə à = á- kpé tsyâ = níkò
 if NCL7 soup 2SG.COMP 2SG.NOM PROSP put too = TOP like that
tsya boakpe kutu tsya nə
 tsyâ bó = á- kpé kó- *tù tsyâ nó
 too 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB put NCL7 soup too really
 ‘If it is soup you desire to put also, that is how we put in soup too’.

- 9.4 **ee nko bueyifo nya nə**
 éé níkò bó = á- yífó nyá nó
 yes like that 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB do 3SG.ACC really
 ‘Yes! That is how we really do it’

- 9.5 **ẽhẽẽ**
 ẽhẽẽ
 surely
 ‘Surely’

Kumah:

10 **eso ewu , nyamfo tii , læ edi**
 ésò éwú nyàmfo tí = lá á= dí
 therefore grandmother this INT =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST eat
nyaa , yəmutə fə kolesa
 nyá = yà= n- ó- tó fə kó- lèsá
 3SG.ACC =TOP 3SG.NOM= NEG FUT cause 2SG.ACC NEG thing
bənkə kafo bufi fə lee kolesa buyifo fə
 bənkə kàfò bó- fi fə léé kó- lèsá bó- yífó fə
 3PL.COMP belly FUT pain 2SG.ACC or NEG thing FUT do 2SG.ACC
ngbə ?
 ṅgbə
 EMPH
 ‘Therefore grandma, this one, if you eat it, wouldn't it cause anything such that your
 belly will be in pain or won't anything happen to you?’

Matiko Adzoa:11.1 **awo !**

àwò
 no
 ‘No!’

11.2 **itsyibəə**

ənni kpə tsya
 é= tsyì bəə è= n- ní kpə tsyâ
 3SG.NOM.PST= come from 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= NEG be many too
foo ... miə se læ əəbə kamə
 fə= ó- míə sé lá à= á- bó kàmó
 2SG.NOM= FUT 1SG.COMP when if 2SG.NOM PROSP come rice
bəymr , nyafěě fuuyifo nnye okle
 bó- yímì nyáfěě fə= ó- yífó nnyè ò- *klé
 NMLZ chew then 2SG.NOM= FUT do perhaps NCL3 pepper
feyifo fakpe læ kase beakpe
 fā= yífó fā= kpé læ kàsé bé= á- kpé
 2SG.NOM= do 2SG.NOM= put just as 2PL.NOM.PST= HAB put

... afe eso baate kase
 á- *fè ésò bà = á- té kàsé
 NCL6 time therefore 3PL.NOM = HAB show how
 fookpe mə
 fò = ó- kpé mé
 2SG.NOM = FUT put like this

‘Because it isn't so much you will ... I said that when if you are about to eat rice, then you will do it or perhaps if stew you prepare and add to it just as you put it ... sometimes they show how you will put it like this’.

Kumah:

12 ee

ée

yes

‘Yes’

Matiko Adzoa:

13.1 ebokpe fěě yəmbofe fə
 à = bó- kpé fěě yà = n- bó- fè fə
 2SG.NOM FUT put before 3SG.NOM = NEG FUT surpass 2SG.ACC
 iyifo nyakpla .
 é = yífó nyákplá
 3SG.NOM.PST = do sour

‘You will put it in sure that the quantity will not be excessive to cause it to be sour’.

13.2 nya te baatsya keyifo nə .
 nyá tè bá = á- tsyá kà- yífó ná
 3SG.PN only 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB meet INF do really
 ‘That is what they really used to do’

13.3 yeenyifo kolesa .
 yà = á- n- yífó kó- lèsá
 3SG.NOM = HAB NEG do NEG thing
 ‘It doesn't do anything’

- 13.4 **ayombi to ole** , **lə efe** **ayombii** ,
 àyómbí tò ó- *lè ló é= fè àyómbí =
 Agushi POSS NCL1 own if 3SG.NOM.PST= split Agushi =TOP
əsə ələkə nnamfo awã nya
 à= sè à= lókè ínàmfo à= wã nyá
 2SG.NOM fry 2SG.NOM remove flour 2SG.NOM cook 3SG.ACC
fenkə osokpa .
 fè nkè òsòkpá
 like that porridge
 ‘That of Agushi, if you split Agushi, you fry and remove the flour and cook it like porridge’

- 13.5 **lə awã fe osokpa** , **aye akle tititi**
 ló à= wã fè òsòkpá à= yé à= klé tíítí
 if 2SG.NOM cook like porridge 2SG.NOM sieve 2SG.NOM tie tight
ətsyə efo eyi ko , efe
 à= tsyè è= fò á- *yì kò èfè
 2SG.NOM keep 3SG.NOM= earn NCL6 full day then now
alə budi .
 à= lé bò- dí
 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ eat
 ‘If you cook it like porridge, you will sieve and tie it tightly to keep it for some days then, now you can eat it’

Kumah:

- 14 **eso ayombi to ole** , **nya tsya ofo**
 ésò àyómbí tò ó- *lè nyá tsyâ ófò
 therefore Agushi POSS NCL1 own 3SG.PN too spice
baakpo nya ?
 bá= á- kpó nyá
 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call 3SG.ACC
 ‘Therefore that of Agushi, Is it also call Ofo (spice)’.

Matiko Adzoa:

15.1 **nya** **tsya ofo** .

nyá tsyâ ófò

3SG.PN too spice

‘It is also Ofo (spice)’.

15.2 **nya** , **diye nã** **lonr** **kploŋ te dini**

nyá diyê nã lòn- *ní kplón tè lè = ní

3SG.PN name CL5.DEF CL5 one only only CL5.NOM = be

boakpo **nya** .

bó = á- kpó nyá

1PL.NOM.PST = HAB call 3SG.ACC

‘For it, it is the same name we call it’.

15.3 **ofo** .

ófò

spice

‘Ofo (spice)’

Kumah:

16 **nya læ dinə** **ke esi** **fanle** **abamba**

nyá lá dìnə ké à = sí fā = n- lé à- bàmbà

then if the day any 2SG.NOM still 2SG.NOM = EMPH hold NCL another

buyifoo , **læ iyifo** **muubə**

bó- yífó = lá é = yífó mò = ó- bá

NMLZ do = TOP if 3SG.NOM.PST = do 1SG.NOM = FUT come

læ dinə fuusi **eyifo** **ətsyuə** , **læ**

lá dìnə fò = ó- sí à = yífó à- tsyuá lá

if the day 2SG.NOM = FUT still 2SG.NOM do CL6 some HORT

ətə ... **buubə** **læ** ...

à = tá bə = ó- bá lá

2SG.NOM give 1PL.NOM = FUT come HORT

‘Then anytime you will be doing another, then I will come the time you will do some again, let me ... we will come so ...’

Matiko Adzoa:

- 17.1 **ənyə mɔ ... nyamfo ebii fə [papavi]**
 á= nyè mɔ nyàmfo èbî fǎ
 2SG.NOM.PST see 1SG.PN this not-knowing 2SG.POSS
ǎ lebokoo , ebii eso
 é lè= bókó =ó èbî é= só
 CL1.DEF REL= bring =TOP not-knowing 3SG.NOM.PST= surpass
utu .
 ò- *tú
 NCL3 plenty
 ‘You see, for me ... this not-knowing it was your paternal uncle who brought it, not-knowing it is too much’

- 17.2 **ɔnkə buyifo kpə esoo ,**
 ɔnkə bò= yífó kpè ésò =
 3SG.COMP 1PL.NOM= do many therefore =TOP
ənni mmi ku kənə te buə
 è= n- ní mmi kú kènə tè bò= á-
 3SG.NOM= NEG be today and yesterday only 1PL.NOM= PROSP
buyifo .
 bó- yífó
 NMLZ do
 ‘He said we should make a lot of it therefore, we will not be making any soon’

iv) Okuaye buyifo-Soap making

File name: 20130205-000_Soap_making

This procedural narrative was given with the collaboration of Patience Akposu (Koko Amba), Grace Akposu (Ogre), Gloria Akposu (Kumah) and Regina Amedezi (Kpodo) on 5th February 2013. The process begins with making potash from cocoa pods. The potash is placed in a sieved bowl and water is drained through to get the

soda solution. The solution is placed on the fire to cook, then palm oil is added. The mixture is stirred during the process and it becomes solid.

Cephas:

1 **ntsyə beeyifo okuaye ?**

ntsyə bá= á- yífó òkuàyé

how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB do soap

‘How is soap made?’

Koko Amba:

2 **lə əbə okuaye bowā ā** ,

lə à= á- bó òkuàyé bó- wā =ā

if 2SG.NOM PROSP come soap NMLZ cook =TOP

əbutsyue kolo .

à= bó- tsyúé kòló

2SG.NOM FUT arrange soda ash

‘If you are about to make soap, you will gather soda ash’.

Ogre:

3 **ebotonse kolo** ,

à= bó- tò -n- -sə kòló

2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS soda ash

ebotonse akookookpə .

à= bó- tò -n- -sə à- kòòkòò *kpé

2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS NCL6 cocoa bark; skin

‘You will burn soda ash, you will burn cocoa pods’

Kumah:

4 **ebotonse kolo ətəkə ntu**

à= bó- tò -n- -sə kòló à= táké ntù

2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS soda ash 2SG.NOM put on water

akpo kolo fěě əbutsyue kolo .

à= kpó kòló fěě à= bó- tsyúé kòló

2SG.NOM pour soda ash before 2SG.NOM FUT arrange soda ash

‘You will burn soda ash, put water on the fire, and pour it on soda ash before arranging soda ash’

Kpodo:5 **tsyə əsuə**

tsyə əsúə

keep body

‘Take your time’

Ogre:

6 **ntsya sieti kolo kuə leetsyi fěě**
 n̄tsyá siétí kò- *ló kúě là = á- tsyì fěě
 how where NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL = HAB come from before
fəəbə ko butsyue ?
 fā = á- bá kó bó- tsyúé
 2SG.NOM = PROSP come CL7.ACC NMLZ arrange
 ‘Where will the soda ash come from before you will arrange it?’

Koko Amba:

7 **boya maaya**
 bó- yà mà = á- yà
 NMLZ buy 1SG.NOM = HAB buy
 ‘I always buy it’

Kumah:

8 **ebotonso etsyinko**
 à = bó- tò -n- -sə à = tsyìnkó
 2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS 2SG.NOM start
ebotonso
 à = bó- tò -n- -sə
 2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘You will burn it from the start, you will burn it’.

Ogre:

9 **nya eso edzebe lə ətsyə kasə kase**
 nyá ésô é = dzébé lá à = tsyè kàsô kàsé
 therefore 3SG.NOM.PST = be necessary HORT 2SG.NOM put down how
footonso
 fō = ó- tò -n- -sə
 2SG.NOM = FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘Therefore it is necessary that you start from how you will burn it’.

Koko Amba:

10 mootonsə

akookookpə

mò = ó- tò -n- -sə à- kòòkóò *kpə

1SG.NOM = FUT burn LIG CAUS NCL6 cocoa bark; skin

‘I will burn cocoa pods’

Kpodo:

11 lee kɔfi

léé kɔfi

or coffee

‘Or coffee’

Koko Amba:

12.1 lee kɔfitokpə

léé kɔfi tò *kpə

or coffee POSS bark; skin

‘Or coffee pod’

12.2 nya yuuyifo

ntə

nyá yò = ó- yífó òtɔ

then 3SG.NOM = FUT make ash

‘Then it will become ash’

12.3 nya muutsyue

kolo

kuəmə

nyá mò = ó- tsyúé kò- *lò kúá- má

then 1SG.NOM = FUT arrange NCL7 soda ash CL7 the

kudu

kò = dù

CL7.NOM = drip

‘Then I will arrange the soda ash to drip’

- 12.4 **lə kudu** **fěě** **muutəkə** **ko** **lə**
 lá kò = dù fěě m̀ = ó- tákə kó lá
 if CL7.NOM = drip before 1SG.NOM = FUT put on CL7.ACC LOC
ateke itu **kobe** .
 àtèké è = tú kò = bé
 stove 3SG.NOM = be boil CL7.NOM = be cook
 ‘If it drips before I will put it on the fire to boil and cook’

Kumah:13.1 **mbe nnəbə** .

m̀bê ñ = lé bó
 mother 1SG.NOM = hold come
 ‘Mother, I am coming’

- 13.2 **lə ətsyue** **kolo** **o** , **be** **fuufi**
 lá á = tsyúé k̀l̀ = ó bé f̀ = ó- fĩ
 if 2SG.NOM.PST arrange soda ash = TOP what 2SG.NOM = FUT take
akpo **fěě** **fuutsyue** **kolo**
 à = kpó fěě f̀ = ó- tsyúé k̀- *l̀
 2SG.NOM pour before 2SG.NOM = FUT arrange NCL7 soda ash
kuǎ **fěě** **kudu** **fuutəkə** **fěě**
 kúǎ fěě ko = dù f̀ = ó- tákə fěě
 CL7.DEF before CL7.NOM = drip 2SG.NOM = FUT put on before
fəə ... **yɔ̀kpɪ** , **ntu**
 fə = á- ỳ = ó- kpì ntù
 2SG.NOM = PROSP 3SG.NOM = FUT dry up water
fuutəkə **ntutə** **akpo** **kolo**
 f̀ = ó- tákə ñtùtə à = kpó k̀- *l̀
 2SG.NOM = FUT put on hot water 2SG.NOM pour NCL7 soda ash
kuǎ , **amanter** **mfó ɲgbə** ?
 kúǎ á = n- à- n- téyí mfó ɲgbə
 CL7.DEF 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG say that EMPH
 ‘If you arrange the soda ash, what will you pour into it before you arrange the soda ash
 to drip to put on fire to be thick, it is water you will pour hot water on the soda ash.
 You didn't say that?’

Koko Amba:

14 **lə ntududu fakpo tsya** .
 lə ñtùdúdú fà = kpó tsyâ
 if cold water 2SG.NOM = pour too
 ‘If it is cold water you pour into it too’

Kumah:

15 **gake ntu mambə nya eso nne fə**
 gake ñtù n- à- n- bó nyá ésô ñ = lé fə
 but water NEG PFV NEG come therefore 1SG.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC
bɔtɛɪ .
 bɔ- téyí
 NMLZ tell
 ‘But water didn't come that is why I am telling you’

Koko Amba:

16.1 **nya eso miə ntu** .
 nyá ésô míə ñtù
 therefore 1SG.COMP water
 ‘That is why I said water’

16.2 **ntɛɪ miə fookpo ntu lə**
 ñ = téyí míə fɔ = ó- kpó ñtù lə
 1SG.NOM.PST = say 1SG.COMP 2SG.NOM = FUT pour water LOC
ko .
 kó
 CL7.ACC
 ‘I said that you will pour water into it’

Kumah:

17 **amanter** .
 á = n- à- n- téyí
 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG say
 ‘You didn't say it’

Ogre:

- 18.1 **ebokpe** **kuyibi** **lə** **lekpenku**
 à = bó- kpé kò- *yî -bí ló lè- *kpé -n- *kù
 2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 tree DIM LOC NCL5 bowl LIG half
əsua .
 əsúá
 body
 ‘You will put a stick into a scrap bowl’

- 18.2 **efi** **okpe** **ə** **lebo** **kalo**
 à = fĩ ò- *kpé ă lè = bó kálò
 2SG.NOM take NCL3 bowl CL3.REL.PRO REL = get out down
efi **ətəkə** **okpe** **bamba** **əsua** .
 à = fĩ à = tákə ò- *kpé bàmbà əsúá
 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on NCL3 bowl another body
 ‘You take a bowl which has holes underneath it and put it on another bowl’

- 18.3 **akpe** **fe se kotoku** **kuəmfo seka mə** .
 à = kpé fè sé kò- *tòkú kúá- mfò sèkà mó
 2SG.NOM put like when NCL7 sack CL7 this similar like this
 ‘You put something similar to this sack’

- 18.4 **ebokpe** **kotoku** **fěě** **fuuwiniə** **nto**
 à = bó- kpé kò- *tòkú fěě fò = ó- wínìsə òtó
 2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM = FUT pour ash
buă **akpo** **lə** **kotoku** **əsua** .
 búă à = kpó ló kò- *tòkú əsúá
 CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body
 ‘You will put a sack before you pour the ash into the sack’

- 18.5 **nyafěě fuutəkə** **ntu ekiti** **akpo**
 nyáfěě fò = ó- tákə nítù à = kútí à = kpó
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT put on water 2SG.NOM fetch 2SG.NOM pour
fěě kolo **kuă** **luudu** **kenke**
 fěě kò- *ló kúă lò = ó- dù kénké
 before NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL = FUT drip completely

iləkə ntu lə ntə buǎ əsuə , efi ntə
 è = lókə ntù ló ntó buǎ əsúə à = fí ntó
 3SG.NOM = remove water LOC ash CL10.DEF body 2SG.NOM take ash
 buǎ ewi .
 búǎ à = wí
 CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour away
 ‘Then you will put water on the fire and pour it before the soda ash will drip totally
 from the Soda ash and throw the soda ash away’

18.6 ntə to sakpo əmfó ebufi ewi
 ntó tò sàkpò á- mfó à = bó- fí à = wí
 ash POSS chaff CL3 that 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM pour away
 fěě fəəbə ntu buǎ
 fěě fā = á- bó n- *tù búǎ
 before 2SG.NOM = PROSP come NCL10 water CL10.DEF
 businkli kətəkə ateke kase fətsyue
 bó- sínkli kà- tóká àtèké kàsé fā = tsyúé
 NMLZ return INF put on stove how 2SG.NOM = arrange
 ebufi ətəkə ateke .
 à = bó- fí à = tóká àtèké
 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM put on stove
 ‘You will throw away that chaff of the ash before you will put the water on the fire as
 you arrange it’

18.7 se fətəkə ateke , akpe utə , nya
 sé fā = tóká àtèké à = kpé ùtə nyá
 when 2SG.NOM = put on stove 2SG.NOM put fire then
 yuutu sīī ekpɪ .
 yò = ó- tú sīī è = kpì
 3SG.NOM = FUT be boil a while 3SG.NOM = be thick
 ‘When you put it on the fire, then it will boil for a while to be thick’

18.8 **lə kəkpi** **kenke** **əbunyə** **lə**
 lə kó= kpì kénké à= bó- nyè lə
 if CL7.NOM.PST= be thick completely 2SG.NOM FUT see if
kəkpi .
 kó= kpì
 CL7.NOM.PST= be thick
 ‘If it becomes thick you will see if it is thick’

18.9 **nyáfěě fəəbə** **ubisia** **bufi** **kakpo** .
 nyáfěě fə= á- bó ùbìsìà bò- fí kà- kpó
 then 2SG.NOM= PROSP come palm oil NMLZ take INF pour
 ‘Then you shall pour palm oil’

Koko Amba:

19 **nnuə** .
 ínuè
 palm oil
 ‘Palm oil’

Cephas:

20 be ?
 bé
 what
 ‘What?’

Kumah:

21 **nnuə** .
 ínuè
 palm oil
 ‘Palm oil’

Cephas:

22.1 **ubisia** .
 ùbìsìà
 palm oil
 ‘Palm oil’

Kpodo:

22.2 ubisia

ùbìsìà

palm oil

‘Palm oil’

23.1 ubisia a , nnuə ni ubisia .

ùbìsìà =à ñnuè ní ùbìsìà

palm oil =TOP palm oil be palm oil

‘Ubiaia’, palm oil is ‘ubisia’

23.2 nnuə tsya sekpele sini ?

ñnuè tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé sè= ní

palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.NOM= be

‘Is ‘nnuə’ too a Sekpele word?’

23.3 ubisia tsya sekpele ?

ùbìsìà tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé

palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language

‘‘ubisia’ too sekpele?’

Cephas:

24 hĩĩ

hĩĩ

yes

‘Yes’

Ogre:

25.1 nya fuufi akpo , fěě

nyá fò= ó- fĩ à= kpó fěě

then 2SG.NOM= FUT take 2SG.NOM pour before

foobaka sĩĩ .

fò= ó- báká sĩĩ

2SG.NOM= FUT stir a while

‘Then you will pour it before you will stir it for a while’

25.2 **lə abaka** , **alə** **bobaka** **kenke** **ko**
 lá á= báká à= lé bò- báká kénké kò
 if 2SG.NOM.PST stir 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ stir completely then
ete **elə** **bəkpr** **ko** **elə**
 ètè è= lé bó- kpì kò è= lé
 then 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ be thick then 3SG.NOM= hold
bokle **lə** **bətsyuə** , **kolo** **kuə** **ku** **ubisia**
 bò- klé lá bà- tsyúá kò- *ló kúá kú ùbìsìà
 NMLZ wrap LOC NCL2 some NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF and palm oil
kenke **ko** **elə** **bokle** **lə** **bətsyuə** **sĩ**
 kénké kò è= lé bò- klé lá bà- tsyúá sǐ
 all then 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ wrap LOC NCL2 some a while
yuubə **kpr** **yuubə** **wǎ**
 yò= ó- bá kpì yò= ó- bá wǎ
 3SG.NOM= FUT come be thick 3SG.NOM= FUT come become
isi .
 è= sì
 3SG.NOM= thicken
 ‘If you stir and you stir it then it will be thickening and holding to each other the soda
 and the palm oil, for a while it will become thick’.

25.3 **kase utə** **ǎ** **kpe** **elə** **bunyə** **ko** ,
 kàsé ò- *tâ ǎ kpé è= lé bò- nyá kò
 as NCL3 fire CL3.DEF exist 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ sparkle then
yeesu **yifo** **kenke** **elosə** **ko**
 yà= á- sù yífo kénké è= lò -sə kò
 3SG.NOM= PROSP go do completely 3SG.NOM be finish CAUS then
la , **wuuwǎ** **okwe** .
 lá wò= ó- wǎ wò= kwé
 TOP 3SG.NOM= FUT become 3SG.NOM= become dry
 ‘As the fire exists and it is sparkling, then by the time it is done, it will become dry’

25.4 **wookwe** **wuutsyə** **kase**
 wò = ó- kwé wò = ó- tsyè kàsé
 3SG.NOM = FUT become dry 3SG.NOM = FUT be how
ntə **mə** .
 ñ = t́á ḿá
 REL = be.at like this
 ‘It will become dry like this’.

25.5 **nyafěě fuuwǎ** **wə** **akpa** .
 nyáfěě fò = ó- wǎ wə à = kpá
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT cause 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM gather
 ‘Then you will gather it’

25.6 **fěě fuuwǎ** **wə** **aso** **kemi**
 fěě fò = ó- wǎ wə à = só kè mí
 before 2SG.NOM = FUT cause 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM beat then
əbo **okuaye nə** .
 è = b́ó òkuàyé ná
 3SG.NOM = get out soap really
 ‘Then you will beat it into balls then it will really come out as soap’

Kpodo:

26 **awu kenkenkenke** , **kafia kenkenkenke** **loo** .
 àwù kěṅké -n- kěṅké kàfiá kěṅké -n- kěṅké lóó
 clothing clean LIG clean cloth clean LIG clean UFP
 ‘Clean, clean attire; clean, clean cloth’

Kumah:

27.1 **nyafěě fɔɔso** **wə** .
 nyáfěě fò = ó- só wə
 then 2SG.NOM = FUT beat 3SG.ACC
 ‘Then you beat it into balls’

27.2	fenkə	kase	fɔ̀	...	lə	akpe	lə
	fěnkə	kàsé	fò =	ó-	lá	á =	kpé lə
	assuming	how	2SG.NOM =	FUT	if	2SG.NOM.PST	put LOC
	ɔkpe	mə	ɛbɔsɔ		aba		kenke
	ò-	*kpé	má	à =	bó-	só	à = bá kénké
	NCL3	bowl	like this	2SG.NOM	FUT	beat	2SG.NOM break completely
	'For example how you will ... if you put in a bowl like this, you will beat and break into pieces'						

28.3 **fuufi** **ntu** **əyuə** **zɔ̃** **abaka**
 fò = ó- fí ntù à = yúá zɔ̃ à = báká
 2SG.NOM = FUT take water 2SG.NOM sprinkle now 2SG.NOM stir
atsyakasə **itsyə** **səkə** **əkobe** **lə**
 à = tsyáká -sə è = tsyà séké è = kóbé lá
 2SG.NOM mix CAUS 3SG.NOM = stay few 3SG.NOM = hold LOC
bətsyua .
 bà- tsyúá
 NCL2 some
 ‘You sprinkle water now and stir it to mix for a while to hold each other’

28.4 **nyafěě** **əəbə** **abo** **bosə** **kase**
 nyáfěě à = á- bá á- *bò bə- só kàsé
 then 2SG.NOM PROSP come CL6 fist NMLZ beat as
osə **utsyə** **mfo** **mə** **nə** .
 ò = só ò = tsyà m̩fô mé ná
 3SG.NOM = beat 3SG.NOM = put here like this really
 ‘Then you shall make them into fist blows as she has really done here like this’.

Cephas:

29 **Kemi** **lə** **eyo** **kase** **beyifo** **kosate** ,
 kəmí lá é = yó kàsé bá = yífó kòsàté
 then if 3SG.NOM.PST = reach how 3PL.NOM.PST = do ownself
muubə **nbə** **kpo** **mi** .
 mò = ó- bá ò = bá kpó mí
 1SG.NOM = FUT come 1SG.NOM = come snap 2PL.ACC
 ‘That means if it is time for doing it in reality, I will come and cover you’.

Koko Amba

30 **dinə** **muutsyue** **mfo** **nə** .
 díná mò = ó- tsyúé m̩fô ná
 the day 1SG.NOM = FUT arrange here really
 ‘The day I will really arrange it here’

Cephas:

31 **lə etsyue** **muubə** **kpo** , **lə**
 lə á= tsyúé mò= ó- bá kpó lə
 if 2SG.NOM.PST arrange 1SG.NOM= FUT come snap if
ale **bowã** **muubə** **kpo** .
 à= lé bó- wã mò= ó- bá kpó
 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ cook 1SG.NOM= FUT come snap
 ‘If you arrange it I will come and cover it, if you are cooking, I will come and cover it’

Kumah:

32 **səkpele** **siã** **simgbe kpe** .
 sè- *kpè *lé siã sìngbé kpé
 NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.DEF Ewe exist
 ‘The Sekpele has Ewe in it’

Kpodo:

33 **lə ale** **bɔsɔ** **wuubə** **kpo** .
 lə à= lé bò- sɔ wò= ó- bá kpó
 if 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ beat 3SG.NOM= FUT come snap
 ‘If you are making balls he will come and cover it’

Kpodo:

34 **kənə** **koŋ** **enii** **ubə** **kpo** **fěě** **nə** .
 kənó kóŋ èníí ó= bá kpó fěě ná
 yesterday really probably 3SG.NOM.PST= come snap before really
 ‘Yesterday really probably he should have really come to cover it before’

Ogre:

35 **ənni** **kənə** .
 è= n- ní kənó
 3SG.NOM= NEG be yesterday
 ‘It isn't yesterday’

Kumah:36 **kaymkənə** .

káyìŋkənə

day before yesterday

‘The day before yesterday’

Kpodo:37 **kənə ɔsɔɔ** .

kənə ò = sɔ́ = ɔ́

yesterday 3SG.NOM = beat = TOP

‘Yesterday she beat it’

Ogre:38 **oo kaymkənə** .

òó káyìŋkənə

no day before yesterday

‘No, the day before yesterday’

Koko Amba:39.1 **kaymkənə minso** .

káyìŋkənə mì = n- sɔ́

day before yesterday 1SG.NOM = EMPH beat

‘The day before yesterday I beat it into ball’

39.2 **məmɔ mfo tsya mɔbɔsɔ** .

məmɔ òfò tsyâ mò = bó- sɔ́

now here too 1SG.NOM = FUT beat

‘Right now too I will beat it’

Cephas:40 **kemi maaso mi anɪ**

kèmí mà = á- sɔ́ mí à- *nî

then 1SG.NOM = PROSP hit 2PL.ACC NCL8 arm

‘Then I thank you’